THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

January 17, 1948

THE "RED CELL"

AN EDITORIAL

Hongkong: Political Arena Abroad

Wang Sze-zee

Vietnam Versus France

J. Hendrick

Is This Religious Freedom?

Francois Legrand

BULLITT FIRES AGAIN

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 108 CNC$20,000 NUMBER 7

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

No Affiliations

To The Editor:

The article by Kenneth Wood on "Reds Allow Religious Freedom," published in the January 3 issue of the *Review*, quoted an interview between a "missionary" and Gov. Yang Hsiu-feng of the Chin-Chi-Lu-Yu Border Region. Actually the interview was made by a foreign relief worker who had no mission affiliations, and who was not interested in placing one church group in an advantageous position over another. This is pointed out in order to prevent misunderstanding as to the authorship and motivation of the interview.

M. L. D.

Shanghai,
January 8, 1948.

A Sorrowful Reader

To The Editor:

Red propaganda, like football's T formation, is based on deception. It should be prefaced with this warning: "Any correspondence found between what we say and the objective truth is purely accidental and should not be taken as indicative of any change in our normal policy." This thought was inspired by the extraordinary collection of documents printed (the *Review*, Jan. 3, 1948) with uncritical comments by Kenneth Wood, under what some say is a deliberately misleading title, "Reds Allow Religious Freedom."

The author must be new out here, or he would know that Shanghai, as the headquarters for many Protestant and Catholic missions, is well informed about the real aims and practices of China's Soviet regime. Mr. Wood's contribution, though it might fit snugly in the current columns of the *Washington Post* or the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, is an insult to the local intelligence. Does he know, for instance, that a favorite Red trick is to post up on a church door a notice proclaiming religious freedom and then use the church for anti-religious meetings? If he falls for their line, he should know that there are a lot of us who don't. Red land reform? Bosh. A friend of mine in North Kiangsu says there were three distinct redistributions of land made by the Red landlords there in three months. The poor peasants hardly dared to plant anything because they didn't know who would harvest it. He accepts uncritically such nonsense as this: "The Communists had no objection to religion ...so long as the churches had no political programs (such as the Catholics have.)" It would be interesting to know what sort of common political program the Catholic Church could have when it's composed of a couple of dozen different nationalities.

I can't quite figure out the purpose of such a silly article. Is the writer trying to organize the leftists among Protestant ministers so they can later urge Uncle Sugar to subsidize the Red program to drive all foreigners out of China—all except Red Russians? A perusal of Red papers here will show that they are 100 percent anti-America. I can understand how Fritz Kuhn and his German-American Bund could be zealously working for Awful Adolph in the pre-war US...

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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After all, they were Germans. But how such fine Anglo-Saxon names as Kenneth and Wood can be found working feverishly for one J. Vissarionovich Djugashvilli is a mystery.

If he really believes the Red propaganda I'm sorry for him. Even if he doesn't, I'm still sorry, for there are too many people out here who know the truth. Judging from his recent contribution he's not very dangerous. I'd rate him intellectually not with Snow or White, but far down among the Seven Dwarfs.

AMUSED.

Shanghai,
January 5, 1948.

American Reaction

To The Editor:

This is a thumbnail sketch of my recent readings on the international situation and, I trust, will serve as the handwriting on the wall for America's self-and-world peace murdering dollar-Atomic Bomb-foreign policy.

The Truman Doctrine, which Henry Wallace has termed militaristic, (see *Ta Kung Pao* December 19, Chungking edition) and the Marshall Plan, America's capitalistic gimmick for profiteering (see Y. F. Soo's article in the November 22 issue of the *Review* pointing out that Ruhr coal was sold at the world market price of US$10.50 per ton while Ruhr miners received US$5.50 per ton, thus making the USA "Uncle Shylock abroad and Uncle Sap at home") are not the only signs of American policy.

Advocation of immediate war with the USSR is to be found in Byrnes' "Speaking Frankly," along with Marshall's declaration that "he is against the British experiment in socialism," which Bevin condescendingly accepted for the British share in the Marshall Plan. Then, there is Foster Dulles' recent visit with the reactionary De Gaulle, whom FDR thoroughly distrusted, for the purpose of re-entering that worthy into French politics and thus help to stamp out the irresistible democratic surge in France.

Thus, America seems morally blind in the pursuit of her well deserved world leadership. For, she seems to forget the historical truth that the Inquisition was one of the most potent factors in enlarging the number of "heretics" in the world of Christianity and that Communism is an ideology representing the ideals of 95 percent of the world's proletariet. Whether the USSR's version of Communism is orthodox or not, it still is an entirely different proposition to the world's masses than the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, no matter how sugar-coated they may appear in terms of "freedom" and "free enterprise."

Washington seems to have forgotten quite abruptly how strenuously the late President Roosevelt fought for the emancipation of the colonial peoples. Especially so, with the arch-reactionary Churchill at the time of the Cairo Conference. For examples of this sort of thing one can find evidence in works like Elliot Roosevelt's "As He Saw It," "The Revolt Of Asia" by Robert Payne, and an article in the October 4 issue of "*The Nation*" by Harold Laski entitled, "Power Politics Spell War."

Now let us look at the results (if result is the word) of the Truman Administration since V-J day. Briefly, the world is now in a state of both chaos and impoverishment, plus an acceleration in unpopularity towards America. Not only is this unpopularity rampant abroad but it is also manifest at home. Phillip Jaffe's article "*The Uneasy Victor*" reprinted in the September 27 issue of the *Review* declared, "after the war the United States and England joined forces to oppose the rising peoples' movements

in all parts of the world under the false and misleading banner of an anti-communist crusade." It then went on to name the various forces in US politics which oppose the Truman Doctrine and also suggested a solution to the dilemma by restoration of the Roosevelt Program for Peace.

The director of the Clark University Graduate School for Geography stated that "the tide of freedom in Asia is too powerful to be checked" and that "England, France and Holland are trying to turn their possessions into partners," (see *The China Press*, December 2). Henry Steele Commager, professor of American History at Columbia University, in an article in the September issue of *Harpers'* entitled "Who Is Loyal To America," declared that the Truman Administration has not yet learned that not every one who "saith Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven" and that Truman does not know that Jefferson's motto was, "rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." He also states that the effort to test "loyalty" is itself a declaration of fear, and of insolvency.

In its quixotic attempts at destroying "communism" the Truman Doctrine has welcomed into the fold, without the slightest compunction about world opinion, such representatives of enlightened government as Greece, Turkey and China.

The Truman Doctrine manifests no interest in stopping or "containing" fascism. While engaged in this holy crusade of righteousness, Truman and Marshall neglect to look at their own hemisphere. The anti-American tide in Latin America is evidenced by Ruth Hart in an article in the *American Mercury* for August, on "Latin America For Natives Only." There is also an article in the August issue of *Harpers*," "What Peron Is Up To," which sees Peron as a great and powerful fascist in the making. Stephen Naft's article, "Fascism's Newest Face," in the *American Mercury* for October, reveals the flirtations with Franco Spain, Peron's relations with other nations, and the possibility of Nazi control in that country.

The tide in American foreign policy is also well manifested in the recent farcical, but deadly serious, Hollywood "red hunt." The increasing growth of reaction in the United States is of no great surprise to those who realize that the very foundations of the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine rest on the base of defeating "communism." If the US can embrace the most politically and socially backward abroad, what is to prevent this type of action at home?

With my very best wishes for your *Review's* becoming more and more Christ-like in fighting the Pharisees and Sadducees in the world today.

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Chengtu, Szechuen,
December 31, 1947.

Teacher Wanted

To The Editor:

I have been a constant reader of your *Review* for more than two years. Every Sunday when it reaches me, I must first read "Letters from the People" and then your editorials. I feel deeply indebted to you for your far-sighted and impartial views on various problems.

But I am sorry that my English is very poor and I cannot write a longer letter. For which, I have been thinking of writing you for your advice. Dear Editor, will you be so good as to recommend me any of your co-workers to be my English teacher by correcting my lessons once or twice a week. I intend to make him a suitable remuneration for his trouble.

J. S. CHENG.

Tsingtao, Shantung,
December 29, 1947.

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Democracy Lovers

To The Editor:

In our school, we have a place called the "Democratic Wall," formed by the Students' Self-Governing Body, where the students put any opinions or suggestions they want to offer. One day, some students wrote requesting the school authorities to ameliorate the students' food and lodging and appealing to the Government for cheap rice. But no sooner was this paper pasted on the wall than the school authorities tore it down under the pretext that the requests were "illegal." On learning of this act the students were so angry that they started a strike and would not go to class until this paper was repasted on the wall and a promise made by the school authorities that the same thing would not happen again.

The next morning we still went to the school to participate in the "hoisting flag rite." Soon after that, the head of the Provincial Education Bureau arrived and made a speech to us on the spot. In his speech, he said "there must be some bad elements in this school to instigate this disturbance..." That afternoon, we found some gendarmes patrolling the school and were told in the evening that two secret agents had been sent to the school.

Despite all this, however, the strike was carried on. Watchwords could be found everywhere such as "Give us freedom or death!" "We must fight for democracy!" "Anti-democratic elements get out of the school!" and so on.

But, finally, the students conceded because of suppression and menace from both the school and the local authorities. The chairman of the Students' Self-Governing Body was punished. Furthermore, the school authorities decided to dismiss about 30 students in the coming winter vacation. Who will these students be? What crime have they committed? They, as well as every one of us, are only innocent democracy-lovers.

Dear Editor, we want freedom; we want democracy.

A GROUP OF DEMOCRACY-LOVING STUDENTS.

Foochow, Fukien,
December 29, 1947.

No Retreat

To The Editor:

Having analysed the "Revised Regulations for Students' Self-Governing Body" issued by the Ministry of Education, on December 9, 1947, we found that this Ministry is attempting to split the students, enslave them and control their movements. It is a conspiracy. Under these revised rules, the students' self-governing body will become a Government-dominated organization, undemocratic, unrepresentative and not working for the welfare of the students at all.

The students' self-governing body is a presentation of democracy. Our late Father, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, has pointed out the characteristics of independence and the importance of the students' movement. In his statement on the Northern Expedition, he advocated that the students' union of various provinces should participate in the preparatory committee of the parliament.

In an educationally backward country such as China, the students have the mission of speaking for the people. Thereupon they have been, now and then, oppressed and persecuted by the anti-democratic and anti-people's Government.

The story of the students' movements in the past 20 years is also a glorious history of the students' struggle against persecution by the Government. From the May 4 and the March 18 events to the death of Yu Tze-shan, everything has indicated that the Government's persecution each time became more and more ruthless. The government's plot was fully revealed in the "December 9th Event."

We are now confronted by a most critical time: either the students' movement will exist or die. Any concession means not only the end of the glorious students' movement but also desertion of our posts. In other words, we shall be on our way to slavery.

In short, we should unite firmly and struggle to the last for democracy in China. This is the only way for the students' movement.

Let us keep in mind:

1. Struggle for the last words of our Father: respecting the independent position of the students.
2. The Students' Self-Governing Body belongs to the students. Controlled elections and opinion are not allowed.
3. Oppose the plot attempting to split the students.
4. All the students unite and struggle for freedom and democracy.
5. Stick to your post! No retreat!

11 WALL-PAPERS OF NANKING UNIVERSITY.

Nanking,
January 3, 1948.

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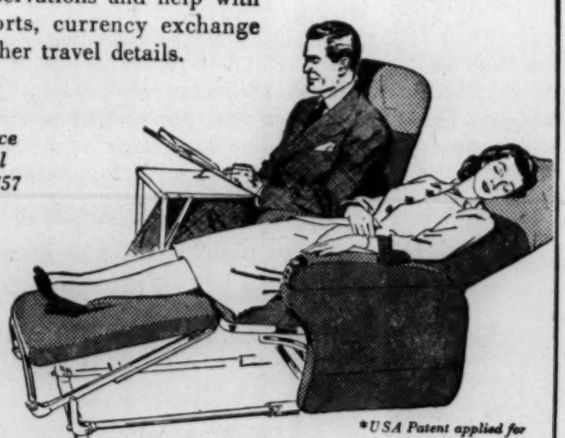

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All In The Family

To The Editor:

The National Kangting Normal Academy was formed by the Kuomintang in 1934. Formerly it was called Kangting Central Political Institute and was a branch school of the Central Political Institute in Nanking. The aim of this school is to educate and train the youths in the border provinces of West China. But so far there is no magnificent record and the school holds no prospect for youths.

In 1944, Mr. Fang Shin Chen, son-in-law of Mr. Tai Chi-tao, Minister of the Examination Yuan, was appointed as the headmaster. By that time, there were six primary classes, two junior and two senior. Following his arrival, many good teachers resigned and they were replaced by Fang's relatives and friends.

Though it is a National Academy, with subsidies from the Ministry of Education, the school buildings are very poor. There is no library or laboratory and the dormitory is dirty and in the worst possible state. Many teachers are government employees and school teachers at the same time. The food and lodgings for the students are very poor.

Recently Mr. Fang, busy canvassing for his election as people's delegate of Szechuen to the National Assembly, left for Nanking, leaving the school to the acting school master, Mr. Lee. But in reality, the acting director is in name only. He has no power to administrate school affairs; all the power has fallen into the hands of Mr. Fang's relatives and friends.

When a school is controlled by a family-like group, there is no need to say how low the standards and qualifications of these teachers are, some of them only high school graduates. They are more interested in hoarding rice, bean oil, cloth and other commodities than teaching the students. They all regard this school as Mr. Fang's private property. Under such conditions, the students are living in a very gloomy state.

Does the Ministry of Education really pay attention to education in the border provinces?

H. S. L.

Kangting, Sikang,
December 10, 1947.

Good, Solid Brass

To The Editor:

So Governor Wei of Formosa says I am a communist or a fellow traveller (see *China Press*, January 5). Well, the Governor lies. He is one of those not-so rare diplomats who lie for their government at home as well as abroad. But let that pass, he can't break himself of this habit, and who minds being called names by politicians? I am much more amused by the neat logic of the old boy. He says we communist conspirators seek to alienate the good people of Formosa from their government, and to achieve that end we must first discredit the local rule and villify the Governor and his Madame. The old fellow for his age, turns a pretty summersault there for I have reasoned just the other way round. Anyway, nothing could leave me more cold than the alleged corruption of his wife. I have never discussed personal corruption and I do not think it matters; the evil goes deeper than that.

I said the Government was no damn good; I said it was incompetent; and I did not mean this to apply to such piddling details as the Administration of Taiwan, except by way of exemplification. The Taiwan administration is no worse than any other provincial government... with old Wei at its head, it probably is a lot better than most. The Government I referred to is the body which calls itself, very misleadingly, the National Government of the Republic of China. My complaint about that club is not so much that it is maladministering Taiwan; Taiwan is merely incidental. My complaint is that these gentry have had a solid generation in which to get education and to qualify for government, and that during a period which was long enough for Japan to rise from colonial status to be a world power and for Soviet Russia to climb from seventh place in industrial production to second, China has slithered down from comparative prosperity, unplanned though it was, to utter hopeless misery wilfully inflicted by a Government in whose plans the Civil War, inflation, and economic chaos are deliberately and advisedly included.

Like scores of others who went to Taiwan with their eyes open, I saw what I could not help seeing and heard what anyone had to hear unless he were stone deaf. And I reported what I saw and heard. I told the simple truth; I said the people of Formosa were deeply dissatisfied with their new government and regretted having been returned to China. In my article, not only did I not support Taiwanese aspirations of secession from China; I positively counselled against such efforts. I told the people of Formosa that their hope lay not in flight and escape from China, but in putting their shoulders to the wheel and helping to reform the rotten government that we have here on the mainland. Therefore, says His Excellency, I am one of the red conspirators who smear the government in order to persuade the Taiwanese to sever their connection with China. I must admit I admire his forehead a lot more than what's behind it; they say brain is about 90 percent water, but in the Governor's case it surely must be at least 99.5 percent. However, his forehead is brass; good, hard, solid brass.

D. Y. LANNE.

Shanghai,
January 7, 1948.

New Year Happiness

To The Editor:

As a tradition, everyone is fond of writing some lucky words at the beginning of a new year. I would like to do the same, but I don't know where I can find these lucky words when my pen is as heavy as my heart. The new year has come, bringing with it no peace, no good news for the people: the cruel Civil War is still going on, with the poor refugees wandering along the roads.

With the issue of the big denomination notes, commodity prices are skyrocking. Though the salary of the civil servants has been adjusted again, it can never keep abreast of the prices. Under such conditions, however, the government authorities are still determined to complete the "bandit suppression" despite the suffering of innocent people. But everything has its limit; there must be a time when the livelihood of the people becomes too hard to be endured and the threat of starvation becomes too poignant to be borne.

Dear Editor, you must know well that there is a warning in restaurants and hotels: "Don't talk about national affairs." But in the street, brilliant words have been written "to celebrate the happy new year." Is there anything so contradictory as these words "to celebrate" and "don't talk?" I think everyone in China understands the implication of "happiness" in the new year. There is no need to explain.

JIEN YU.

Wuchang, Hupei,
January 7, 1948.

Two Evils

To The Editor:

A few days ago an agricultural expert was invited to lecture in the local YMCA on the subject of "How to make China prosperous." As everybody is anxious for the prosperity of his own country, many people were attracted to the lecture.

The lecturer, an agricultural expert, laid stress on the development of agriculture as a way to approach prosperity, on the ground that China is an agricultural country.

The idea to develop China's agriculture, industry, science, education and the like as a way of approaching prosperity seems to leave nothing to be criticized, although all this is not the case. It seems to me that before speaking on this subject, we

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had better first of all, find out where the shoe pinches.

Far from the prospect of prosperity, China is now confronting an unprecedented national crisis which, as I see it, should be attributed to these two evils: the Civil War and official corruption, with which China's prosperity can never exist simultaneously.

Reconstruction work can't be carried on smoothly and vast natural resources can't be fully utilized because of the war and currency inflation. The only result is skyrocketing commodity prices by which the people's livelihood is constantly threatened.

Official corruption has done no less harm than the Civil War. Smuggling, hoarding, speculation, manipulation and the like, engaged in by the "almighty government officials" are things the law cannot help (law in China means nothing to those government officials).

Now our government is asking the US government for a loan in order to alleviate the present economic crisis and also for other purposes.

I have no opposition to what the Government is asking for, as China is too poor and should be helped. The question in doubt is whether such a loan, if granted, will be used for the country's good, instead of going into the pockets of a few.

In conclusion, I venture to say that whatever effort is made to make China prosperous without doing away with these two evils is merely a waste of energy and time.

LEON CHANG.

Nanchang, Kiangsi,
December 30, 1947.

Eternal Infamy

To The Editor:

I wanted to cry after reading Frederick A. Jensen's article, "An UNRRA Official's Parting Statement" (the *Review*, Dec. 27, 1947) but I had no tears. The principles of the UNRRA mission in China have been violated by the "militantly feudal-reactionary character of the Nationalist Government" with the US State Department as condoners and the top level officials of the UNRRA Administration in China as connivers. What an example of moral turpitude! I only wish that God could be made more understandable to men for His hands would have stricken the whole UNRRA fabric in China to death before it became such an eternal infamy. Thus he could also have saved China from being so indoctrinated in the Truman Doctrine—"The American Century at any cost..." by those foolhardy supporters such as Henry Luce, Judd, Bullitt, and the like. The donors of the UNRRA funds and supplies should demand that the corrupt parties be given their punishment, otherwise another world catastrophe will result.

Lastly I want to congratulate Mr. Frederick A. Jensen for his "largest capacity to endure pain" (a definition of a genius) and for his genuine love of China and of world peace.

C. J. B.

Chengtu, Szechuen,
January 4, 1948.

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Congratulations

To The Editor:

Many times I tried to save some money out of my poor allowance so as to continue my subscription to the *Review*, but owing to the ceaseless soaring of commodity prices, I could not make it and finally had to stop my subscription.

Yet, I am glad to tell you that I can continue to read it in the Students' Circulating Library in my school or some book store. The *China Weekly Review* is one of the most impartial and dauntless foreign papers I have ever read. At the time of greeting 1948, I sincerely offer my hearty congratulations to your 31-year-old *Review*.

T. C. C.

Nanking,
January 2, 1948.

Good Companion

To The Editor:

Your esteemed *Review* has been a friend of mine for all these three months and a good companion to me, especially on week-ends when all my students return to their homes. Indeed, I enjoy myself very much by reading the precious information which is generally absent in other papers.

However, my subscription to your *Review* through the help of a friend will expire with the next issue; and because of shortage of money, I cannot resume it and have to bid adieu, with reluctance, to your esteemed *Review* for a while.

Here please accept my best wishes for the glorious future of the *Review*.

F. M. P.

Shanghai,
January 6, 1948.

(Through the kindness of an American reader, who wishes to remain anonymous, the REVIEW has pleasure in extending T. C. C.'s and F. M. P.'s subscriptions for a further three months.—EDITOR.)

Short Story

To The Editor:

Herewith is a short story depicting two young men of present-day China. Perhaps they represent a number of youths in China today.

* * *

Two old schoolmates, Lee and Chang unexpectedly met on a Sunday afternoon train from Peiping to Tientsin. Lee was in army uniform and Chang in a foreign suit. It was six years since they left school, when Lee joined the Chinese Army Force in India and Chang the Chinese Expeditionary Force in West Yunnan.

"When did you take off your army uniform?" Lee asked his old friend.

"I left the army just after V-J Day, for I don't like to be driven around to kill our own brethren and destroy our nation. Meantime, I want to enjoy myself a little bit after all the hard years during the war against Japan and before my youth fades away. I got married and started to work in the Peiping-Hankow Railway Bureau. As a civilian, I thought I would have nothing to do with the Civil War. But there is no peace for anybody as long as the Civil War goes on: the rail line is destroyed by the Reds constantly, our workers are often persecuted, the train is semi-paralyzed, and the sound of guns can be heard day and night. But how have you been my friend?" said Chang.

"I don't like to fight against my countrymen either and we should not fight for the benefit of one party against the other, neglecting the peoples' lives. But what can I do? I tried to get some other job as a civilian but I failed. I now wear my army uniform just for some rice to eat. I would like to get married as you did and have a nice family. I've left my home 10 years ago and have never had a chance to go back. You must still remember how ambitious I was in school and how I dreamed and planned my future. Now everything is just like a bubble, and it makes me dizzy to discuss my fate and the present situation of China. I'm going back to Tientsin where my headquarters are."

"My office as well as my home is in Fengtai. By the way, how about donating some money for the poor students?" said Chang and took from his pocket some papers on which were "Donation of CNC$5,000 for the Poor Students."

"I've donated all the money in my pocket today" answered the soldier. Then he added, "I deeply sympathize with them. I can well remember when I was in the university, I could not get enough to eat, could not afford to buy a textbook, always in patched clothes and straw sandles."

By this time the train arrived at Fengtai. Chang got off the train and said goodbye to Lee who continued on to Tientsin.

CHIENG YUAN-WANG.

Fengtai, Hopei,
December 29, 1947.

The Influential Few

To The Editor:

According to the *China Mail*, Wu Hing-tse and Sun Pao-kung, leaders of the Reform Group of the Democratic Socialist Party, denounced Carson Chang as one who "has learned the Kuomintang technique of speaking the refined language while performing a dirty job," and one who by going to the United States, will be a propaganda agent of the Kuomintang.

The publication of the above-mentioned denunciation was followed by a report by the *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, which has become a Kuomintang mouthpiece for fear of being persecuted as a collaborationist paper, that the Reform group of the Democratic Socialist Party will soon suffer like the Democratic League.

The ruling clique of the Kuomintang, which Walter Judd, Henry Luce and their Wall Street backers believe is fighting America's battle, is repudiated by parties that command a little respect from outsiders. Even the Kuomintang members themselves see that their leaders' running from Bolshevism to Nazism and from Nazism to "Democracy" is too shameful to be proud of.

The Hongkong Sunday Herald reported that Marshal Li Chi-sen, Madame Liao Chung-kai, Poet Liu Ya-tse and the former Kuomintang Minister of Organization, Tan P'ing-shan, are rallying all the Kuomintang members against the Nanking government.

If the American Congress and White

House still hold that they can maintain a regime that lives on murder and tyranny, let them continue to pour money into such rat holes.

Records of the Nuremberg Trial have proved that had Neville Chamberlain not flown to Munich and presented Czechoslovakia to Hitler, the German military would have overthrown the Fuehrer and his Gestapo. Thus the Tories should be, in many respects, responsible for the mass sufferings and executions in and out of the Allied territories. But the British Empire has paid as much for their leaders' mistake as other Allies.

The United States' rulers today appear to be as stupid as the Tories in their dealings in international affairs. The selfish but influential few do not hesitate in sacrificing the welfare of many for their own benefit. They will pay, too, as the Tories did.

R. W. KOO.

Hongkong,
December 28, 1947.

The Narrow Mouths

To The Editor:

With reference to the present newsprint mess, I, as a Chinese, wish to tell you my personal view:

That the *North China Daily News* and the *Shanghai Evening Post* quotas have been reduced by 90 percent and 50 percent respectively is simply because they have been telling too much truth about China, where the telling of truth is almost a crime. Our government wishes people to say that one plus one equals three instead of two if it thinks the sum is right.

In China today, good papers and newspapermen must be the mouthpiece of the Government if they want to keep alive and breathe China's air. Probably you have not forgotten that even the *Ta Kung Pao* was rebuked by the government when it minimized the latter's voice over the "Sinkiang Border Incident." So you have to think over how often your foreign dailies and your *Review* have broken the beautiful web which the *Central News Agency*, the *China Press* and the *Tribune* have carefully and elaborately spun, how often you have defiled the portrait they have painted about China's people living happily under the KMT regime, and how often you have discredited such ready-to-hand proofs they presented for Truman's and Marshall's approval showing how efficient and good the Chinese Administration is and to what extent it is worthy of being given aid to suppress the "Communist bandits," the Communist sympathizers and people in general who are not willing to follow the KMT regime to its grave.

You foreigners must be wise enough to know that our Government is already at its wits' end to try to do away with such "nails" in its coffin as the *North China Daily News*, the *Evening Post* (your *Review* not excluded). The Kuomintang Gestapo cannot persecute you foreign correspondents and newspaper editors. They cannot jail you foreign newshawks as they have done the "undesirable" Chinese reporters. They cannot ban your foreign-owned papers as long as you do nothing against the Chinese law, especially the so-called "Temporary Wartime Measures." But instead of shutting your mouths, they have thought of an alternative to make them open a little narrower. The narrower your mouths, the smaller the voice to be heard in London and Washington, the better it will be for our Government. Don't you think it is the difference in degree of offense they have given our Government, that makes a difference in the reductions of newsprint allotment to the British-owned and the American-owned papers?

Just as the Chinese classic saying goes, "Prosperity shall be unto those that follow me, and death unto those who turn against me," so goes our feudal and dictatorial Government. Mr. Randall Gould was once a good man when he wrote that book in praise of China (i.e. the Chinese Government), but now he must be a very bad man if he is trying to attack the Government on its unfair newsprint allotment.

In a word, I wish you would tell your American and British politicos at home that the present newsprint control is but one of a 1,000 instances that form a picture of how democratic and constitutional our country is and how democratically and constitutionally we are enjoying our freedom.

LAO PAI HSING.

Shanghai,
December 27, 1947.

Worm In The Soup

To the Editor:

I have read your *Review* for many years, if not always with pleasure at least, generally, with interest.

However, I regret to say that of late I've even lost interest. Although the opinions represented by your paper were not always mine, at least I found them stimulating. It is interesting to hear the other fellow's point of view, provided always the other fellow has formed his views after careful investigation.

Now recently you have published several articles on various subjects which show few signs of real investigation and in their whole tone show a great similarity with the wild rantings of the Nazi propagandists of unholy memory. As an example I would like to point to the article entitled "From Hongkong to Port Said," which appeared in your issue of January 3, 1948. The audacity of the author in basing his opinions on such superficial acquaintance of the places mentioned as a voyage to Europe offers, can only be equalled by that of the lady who wrote a book on China after a fortnight's visit to Shanghai.

Mr. Jensen notes with glee that in Hongkong much of the "old Imperial cockiness" has gone and that the Government is "treading softly." Mr. Jensen would not understand that it is just this capacity of knowing when to give and when to take which has enabled Britain to keep together such a large Empire as she used to rule, and to be the leader of such a large Commonwealth of Nations which she still is, in spite of envious mud-slingers.

For the rest, the article concerned appears to be nothing but a collection of gossip elicited from a couple of coolies and an Arab taxidriver and no doubt the prospect of a generous tip was a strong stimulant for the expression of the right opinions.

If you're out for it, you can collect the same opinions about Americans in the Philippines, Hawaii, China, Japan, Panama, in short everywhere an American has shown his face. Many Americans appear to think that they're frightfully popular all over the East. Believe me they're not. No nationals are popular when they settle among another race either as rulers or as "friends." The very fact that that they belong to an alien race makes them suspect, the more so when these strangers have very little knowledge of or respect for the psychology of their hosts, but on every occasion try to ram the gospel of the "...way of life" down peoples' throats. Self-advertisement does not make for popularity anywhere.

The *Weekly Review* contains many valuable articles, and reading one like Mr. Jensen's is like finding a worm in one's soup. It causes a feeling of disgust. Pleases be more hygienic when preparing our mental food.

Do not think that I object to your crusade against the so-called "Imperialist nations," although I cannot help but feel that there is a great deal of hypocracy in the American attitude towards this problem since there is a more insidious form called "Economic Imperialism." As you never trouble to point out the great deal of good the "Imperialist" nations have done in directly fathering the great nations which are arising in the East, your paper is no longer a "review," but just a propaganda-sheet for a very limited point of view. I am willing to recognize it as such. But let it be intelligent propaganda.

ANTISTULTUS.

Shanghai,
January 8, 1948.

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Theory And Practice

THERE seems to be much confusion in China's political picture these days, and it is extremely difficult even for those of us who are following developments closely to have a clear idea as to what is happening in this country. People are likely to misjudge the situation and draw wrong conclusions unless they look at the picture from different angles.

According to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's plans, China has to go through three periods before she can complete her national reconstruction. These periods are, in their proper order, the military period, the political tutelage period and the constitutional period. The military period was supposed to be a period during which the Kuomintang used military might to conquer all the reactionary forces throughout the country so as to pave the way for national unification. The political tutelage period, we are told, was a period earmarked for educating and training the Chinese people in the use of their fundamental political rights in order that they might be fully qualified to live under a full-fledged constitutional democracy. The constitutional period marks the attainment of the goal of national reconstruction.

More than 20 years have rolled by since the victorious conclusion of the Northern Expeditionary Campaign in 1927, which marked the end of the military period. Twenty years isn't a short time. The Chinese people have received 20 years' political education and training to qualify themselves for having a constitutional government.

The new Constitution came into force on December 25, 1947. The political tutelage of the Kuomintang was theoretically ended. It is said that the end of the 20-year period of political tutelage and the beginning of constitutional democracy represent a momentous "turning point" in Chinese politics. For the first time in Chinese history, China has become a modern democracy.

It goes without saying that this is a big step in the right direction. It is a thing of which the Chinese Government and people can be rightfully proud. After 36 years of untold sufferings and intolerable miseries since the founding of the Chinese Republic, the Chinese people at long last have a constitutional form of government. It means that they have not labored and sacrificed in vain.

* * *

BUT there is another side to the picture, and it is this side that makes us a little skeptical about the future.

It is our understanding that a constitutional democracy isn't a gift that the government authorities can kindly give the people. It shouldn't be harmless window-dressing, either. If the people are really to benefit by it, the Constitution must be implemented both in letter and in spirit. It must be something that will do some good to the daily life of the people.

It is with this yardstick in mind that we should size up the situation in China. It is of course unreasonable to expect the new Constitution to work miracles overnight. However, it should not be too much to ask that the Government authorities proceed step by step toward putting the provisions of the Constitution into practice. The new Constitution specifically guarantees press freedom and habeas corpus. But a few hours after the Constitution became effective, press censorship was clamped down in Mukden because of the critical military situation in Manchuria. The following day, two members of the Chengtu City Council "disappeared", with the result that several thousand students staged a monster demonstration in protest. The students were so furious that they got out of control, "detained" the garrison commander for six hours and smashed the offices of the local branch of the official *Central News Agency*.

Since the promulgation of the general mobilization order, the entire Chinese nation has been placed under a strict wartime system. Indications are that the army has the upper hand in running state affairs.

According to reports in the Chinese press, the whole province of Kwangtung has been divided into nine bandit-suppression areas, each under the control of a bandit-suppression commander, who, in his dual capacity of political commissioner for the said area, is empowered to run the civilian administration any way he likes. More than 60 district magistrates are reported to have been fired and replaced by army men. The same thing has happened in Szechuen, where 30 district magistrates in the Ta Pa Shan region have been sacked and replaced by army officers, who are "better qualified to handle the present complicated situation."

It was further reported in the Chinese press that more "pacification areas" will be created in the provinces north of the Yangtze River and south of the Yellow River in order to facilitate the bandit-suppression campaign. All district magistrates in the pacification areas, it is rumored, will be army men.

All this points to one thing. In order to meet the needs of the current military situation,

the civilian administration has been relegated to the background and some sort of military government is gradually coming to the foreground. Nominally, China has made a big step forward from political tutelage to constitutional democracy. But actually, the whole nation appears to be steadily slipping back from political tutelage to the military period.

Twenty years is a long time. The greatest pity of it is that we seem to be right back where we started 20 years ago. As long as fighting continues in this country, it is technically impossible to say that the military period is over. Nor is it safe to expect too much of constitutional democracy under present circumstances.

Next Problem, Please

HE (Dr Sun Fo, Vice-President of China) comforted his audience by saying that the present wave of inflation was only temporary and that a "solution is not difficult to find."—*Reuters.*

President Chiang Kai-shek today attributed the current rising spree of commodity prices to the feeble-mindedness of the people in the face of the momentary vicissitudes of war in certain localities.—*Central News Agency.*

Bullitt Fires Again

FORMER Ambassador William Bullitt, who recently produced a masterpiece of masterminding on the Chinese situation, has done it again. His subject this time is Indo-China. Bullitt visited Indo-China on the excursion which brought him also to China, but he stayed there for an even shorter time. Here again his pontification has found its way into *Life* Magazine.

At this writing, the issue of *Life* containing Bullitt's latest thoughts has not yet arrived in Shanghai. However, *United Press* recently treated its readers to a long summary.

Bullitt's position, according to the summary, is that the French should begin to think of giving the population of Indo-China independence, but that they should positively not deal with the Ho Chi-minh government.

Let's Clean House

"The worst disaster which can befall the French, Annamites and the civilized world would be for the French, in weariness, to surrender to Ho Chi-minh and his Communist comrades," the *UP* summary stated. Bullitt declared that Ho Chi-minh receives vast support from the population despite his Communist policy because he was most effective in the fight for independence. Bullitt then went on to report that while there are "not more than 2,000 full-fledged Communists who consciously take orders from Moscow" in Ho's organization, "about 25,000 of his 75,000 troops have become to a greater or less degree Communist sympathizers. Some 50,000 non-Communist nationalists in the Viet Minh (Viet Nam League for National Independence) are watched and controlled by Communist political commissars."

* * *

BULLITT, with his revelations, has scooped probably all of the competent American correspondents—and there have been many—who have visited Indo-China since World War II ended. Try as they might, the correspondents have been able to find little evidence of Communists or Communism within Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese have struggled to increase literacy. They have kicked out the village Mandarins and instituted elected councils. Of course, some critics might describe these activities as Communist, but others might say the Vietnamese are acting to accomplish quickly what the French left so long undone.

Ho Chi-minh, according to available evidence, was identified years ago with the Third International. At least he visited Moscow. So did Chiang Kai-shek. So did Bullitt, for that matter. However, men who saw him day after day during the French-Viet Nam "honeymoon" in 1946 heard no Communist cliches from him. He would neither confirm nor deny that he was a Communist, but reiterated that "my country is my party."

The figures which Bullitt has produced sound so similar to those which French officials and propagandists have tried unsuccessfully to peddle to more thoroughgoing correspondents, that one can but conclude they are the same. However, just how the French should know the accuracy of such nice, round figures is a bit of a mystery. The Vietnamese are mobilized along thousands of miles of front. The Surete gets agents across this line. But on the whole French intelligence there is very ineffective. The Viet Nam government is a government on the move. The Surete's ineffectiveness is demonstrated by the fact that it often does not know the government's location.

Bullitt's article, according to *UP*, suggested cooperation between the French and anti-Communist Annamite nationalists for the elimination of the Communists. Bullitt says that this is "not impossible because there is no vital difference between the real interests of the French and those of the Annamites."

Which is like saying that there is no vital difference between the interests of democracy-loving Poles and the Russians, or the freedom-loving Indonesians and the Dutch. It is hard to reconcile this Bullitt conclusion with the resistance of upwards of 18,000,000 Vietnamese to the French.

Are the Vietnamese really resisting? you may ask. If you were in Indo-China any one of

the thousands of French lads, some of them once members of another *maquis*, could tell you. Or any one of perhaps 15,000 Germans, many of them once of the Afrika Corps and now with the Foreign Legion. Or any one of the tall, handsome Moroccans, brought thousands of miles to fight other dark-skinned men. They will tell you that the Vietnamese fight hard and bravely and inflict many casualties.

And so the French should cooperate with the anti-Communist Annamites, in other words with Annamites outside Ho's ken.....Perhaps Bullitt was not told by the French officials in Saigon that historically any Annamite who expressed the slightest nationalism was likely to be hustled off to Poulo Condore, Indo-China's Devil's Island.

However, in these days of crisis for France, the French have had to deal with a few Annamites. The French, disdaining the word "puppet," have called their new Annamite friends "figureheads." What a lot of difference! But the French have been spectacularly unsuccessful:

One figurehead, governor of Cochin China, committed suicide after telling his cabinet he was ashamed to have led them "into this farce." The governor of Tonkin was "taken for a ride" after having been found guilty of treason by Viet Nam in absentia. No respectable Annamite has volunteered to work with the French. Most respectable Annamites are in the interior with Ho.

Bullitt recalls that the Japanese closure of the Hanoi-Kunming railroad necessitated flying war supplies to China "over the hump." He warns that "we may need the Viet Nam railroad again to help China resist another invader—the Soviet Union."

Maybe we should also keep the Dutch in command of all Indonesia's railways, or the British in command of Burma's, for resistance against another invader—the Soviet Union.

It is profoundly disturbing that an uninformed, unintelligent piece of propaganda such as Bullitt's should have appeared in such an influential publication as *Life*. We probably could have expected no more from a man of Bullitt's bias and ignorance, but we might have expected more accuracy and integrity from a magazine like *Life* and a publisher like Henry Luce, whatever their shortcomings. The least we can expect is for *Life* to permit one of its experienced staff men to cover Bullitt's ground in Indo-China in an honest way.

The Fighting Press

WILLIAM J. Sebald, the United States member and chairman of the Council, told the acting Russian member that recent press reports surrendered to the Soviets in 1945, had found their way into the hands of the Chinese Communist army. —*UP* story in *China Daily Tribune*, January 8, 1948.

Instead of munitions, perhaps?

The "Red Cell"

THE war party led by Messrs. Luce, Bullitt and Judd has let out a few whoops recently about the "red cell" in the State Department. By this they mean China experts in the Department who take a different view from their own on the problems in this country.

John Chamberlain, a former employee of Mr. Luce, wrote in *Life* magazine of June 30, 1947: "I am willing to admit that John Carter Vincent, who is going out into the field this summer when he relinquishes his job as boss of the Far East office of the State Department, is anti-Chiang Kai-

shek for honest pro-American reasons...It is still a fact that the State Department has never had a housecleaning. If John Carter Vincent is no longer to head the Far East office, certain people who have been in charge of 'digesting' information for him will undoubtedly linger on at the information desks to 'digest' for his successors."

Mr. Bullitt in an article published in the same magazine last October gives his ideas on how, by quick decisive action here, America can throw the Chinese Civil War into reverse. He says: "President Truman can legally take this action at once...He can act in time to keep Manchuria out of the hands of the Soviet Union. If he does not, one of the first acts of Congress when it reconvenes should be an investigation of our policies with regard to China. Such an investigation might at least fix responsibilities and reveal the names of the men in our government and Foreign Service who are incompetent to preserve the vital interests of the people of the U.S."

Congressman Judd when he returned to Washington in November after his quick trip out here made similar ominous remarks. We forget the exact words, but we remember that Mr. Judd was quoted as using the specific phrase "red cell," which we hadn't seen or heard before.

The statements quoted above are not always direct, but they have one meaning for those who understand the background. Messrs. Luce, Bullitt and Judd claim there is a group in the State Department that through stupidity or disloyalty is holding America to a disastrously pro-Communist policy in China. They hint that its mem-

bers should be investigated, purged or otherwise witch-hunted.

This hue and cry is likely to get hotter in the next few months as the question of American aid to China is debated in Washington. Before it gets so hot that someone is burned we wish Messrs. Luce, Bullitt and Judd would re-examine themselves on two questions.

1. Is the "red cell" really disloyal or stupid?

It is hard to discuss this point in anything but a shadowy way without drawing up a list of the "cell's" members. But it is well known in general who they are. They are career officers who have specialized in China and who take a dim view of the possibilities of the Kuomintang. As a group, their greatest prominence was perhaps at the time of General Stilwell. Immediately after that they had what was perhaps their greatest eclipse, when they were persecuted by Ambassador Hurley. There are some 10 or 20 of them and they are well known throughout China.

We have had dealings with many of them and in our opinion they are conservatively-dressed, conservatively-behaved and generally impeccable representatives of the upper middle class in all parts of the United States—nothing red about them on the surface. Most of them in our opinion have a high degree of intelligence, which has been cultivated by good special training in the Chinese language and Chinese affairs generally. We believe those of our readers who know these gentlemen will agree with us on this.

No trace of proof has ever been advanced against either their loyalty or their competence. Their crime when analyzed turns out to be an intellectual disagreement with Messrs. Luce, Bullitt and Judd over what is going on in China and what America should do about it. Our observation is that most foreigners in China would be guilty by this test. The great majority of European diplomats, American reporters and American businessmen here take the same position as the "red cell." These men, who have been observing postwar China at first hand, regard the views of Luce, Bullitt and Judd as ridiculous.

2. Are Luce, Bullitt and Judd behaving like responsible Americans?

We think that between intervals of calling other people stupid or unpatriotic Messrs. Luce, Bullitt and Judd should go back to school for a while and study what makes great nations able to conduct themselves properly in the world. One thing they would find, we are sure, is that a necessary ingredient is a civil service immune from shortsighted and prejudiced attacks like theirs. A good Foreign Service officer needs years of training and of experience in low-grade jobs. A man cannot fight his way through this—staving off family pressures to get into something really lucrative, and so forth—unless he can be sure that hard work, integrity and ability will have a fair chance of being rewarded. If he feels that by studying foreign problems hard and reporting on them honestly he will become a candidate for lynching parties of propagandists and politicians like Messrs. Luce, Bullitt and Judd, he is of course well advised to get into some other line of work, even magazine editing. He should leave the field open to people who would belong in it—time—servers, sycophants and men who dare not have an original thought.

"WHY NOT WAIT AND BUY THAT?"

Herblock in The Washington Post

After You, Doctor!

AFTER a long, discreet silence, Dr. H. H. Kung, former Vice President of the Executive Yuan and concurrently Minister of Finance, spoke out once again. As a "private citizen" he addressed the Far East America Council of Commerce and Industry in New York on January 8, calling the serious attention of his audience, said to have included many leading American manufacturers, businessmen and bankers interested in American trade with China, to the fact that the Chinese Government is now engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Chinese Communists. He concluded his speech with an urgent appeal for help.

Playing up the Red bogey like many other agents of foreign governments who are conducting a vigorous campaign in the States for American aid, Kung argued that America has still to decide whether timely, sufficient help should be used for containing the Communist menace in China as in Europe. According to Dr. Kung, "We, too, are fighting the same menace that threatens democracy in the world, but our resources are being exhausted, and without help we may suffer greater reverses. We can no more stand alone than Great Britain or France can stand alone since their fearful days, or than Italy, or Greece

or Turkey can stand alone today."

Dr. Kung went on to explain that because of devastation from without and within, China has no industries now to support the needs of the present Civil War, that the existing industries here are not of a type that can supply her American-trained and equipped armies. He came to the seemingly logical conclusion that China needs American arms, munitions and other heavy weapons.

Kung stressed that China is fully resolved to carry on even without foreign aid. But he pointed out that "with help we can accomplish so much more and so much faster...We can more quickly alleviate the suffering of our masses and the threat of suffering to others in foreign lands."

We quite understand China's pressing need for foreign aid to enable her to tide over the present unprecedented national crisis. Nevertheless, the question remains: What guarantee is there that any American aid to China will actually benefit the Chinese people in their arduous struggle for internal peace and democracy instead of adding to their sufferings and privations?

In view of bitter experience in their past financial and military assistance to China, the American people who are to shoulder the load have good reason to ask this pertinent question. No one can expect the United States Government to waste the hard-earned money of its taxpayers. If the Chinese Government is anxious to receive any large-scale aid from the United States let it take the initiative in removing the many obstacles that stand in the way.

Dr. Kung was perfectly right in acknowledging that China must also help herself. But an important question is how much has China actually done in the way of self-help? What counts in the last analysis is performance.

According to *The United States News*, the idea is developing in the States that, if US taxpayers are to put up money to save foreign countries, foreigners should make more of a contribution themselves. It is an open secret that hundreds of millions—perhaps billions—of dollars, owned by Chinese, are hiding in the United States. We cannot be sure how much Kung's bank deposits in the United States amount to, although he himself has told Shanghai newspapermen that he has only US$30,000. Chinese patriots blame the United States Government for refusing to let China requisition the assets of Chinese nationals in the States. But we do not think the United States will object if the owners of the assets voluntarily put them at the disposal of the Chinese Government.

Kung's appeal to Americans for help would be more persuasive and more convincing if he could set an example himself by donating part of his assets in the States to the Chinese Government. This is a good way for China to help herself.

25 Years Ago In The *Weekly Review Of The Far East*

Clubs, Cliques And Factions

January 13, 1923.

WHAT do we have in China? Nationwide parties stretching their tentacles to every hamlet and village in the country to express public opinion? Not at all! We have clubs, cliques and factions, usually dominated by military men, giving expression to the will, whims and ambitions of the War Lord of Manchuria or perchance to those of the "Old Man of Paotingfu." ...In the last analysis, in spite of constitutional forms, China's cabinet government is not responsible to Parliament, nor to public opinion, but to a handful of militarists. This means the prostitution of cabinet government, which is essentially party government...It may be that a cabinet government is what the Chinese should ultimately adopt. But China will be tempting the gods of fate, if not the demons of militarism, to lead her to destruction, if she continues her attempt to establish such a system without political parties. Before she can succeed, China must have the necessary experience. A constitution or government is not an invention but the flower of a people's political practice. (J. J. Heeren, PH.D.)

* * *

Easy To Kick

THE write of these lines has abstained from the general practice now so prevalent of blaming everything that is wrong on the continent of Asia on the Chinese. It is as easy to kick a nation when it is down as it is to apply these methods to the individual. Foreign interests are suffering in China now for their imperialistic misdeeds of the past and the innocent are suffering with the guilty. It is no more possible for a nation that has been browbeaten and corrupted to recover suddenly after these influences have been removed, than it is for an individual to recover his self-respect under like circumstances. (Americus.)

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Increase Unwelcome

January 15, 1938.

JAPAN did not welcome any increase in British and United States naval forces, according to a statement by a Foreign Office official on January 7, in Tokyo. The spokesman said that "the increase of naval forces was not welcome because an arms race should be avoided in the future." He added, apparently facetiously, "we are not concerned because our naval force is now strong enough." Commenting on munitions shipments to China, he revealed that a Japanese official was discussing the matter in Berlin. He said that Germany was making an effort to check her shipments which were considered to be greater than those of Great Britain.

* * *

"Peace Or . . . "

THAT the Japanese Government is "prepared for peace and or protracted hostilities" is clear from official statements repeatedly made in the past, a spokesman for the Gaimusho declared on January 10...He said it was understood that the main part of the deliberations (on Japan's basic policy in China) was devoted to deciding the policy which should be an answer to the recalcitrant attitude of General Chiang Kai-shek. In order to bring peace, the spokesman stated, the Chiang Kai-shek administration must manifest "in a concrete manner" its sincerity, by abandoning a policy of anti-Japanism. "Actually, however," the spokesman declared, "the Ciang Kai-shek government is still clamoring for a prolongation of armed opposition to Japan in total disregard for the welfare of the Chinese people. Therefore, as long as the Chiang Kai-shek administration persists in its hostile attitude toward Japan, the Japanese Government will continue its predetermined policy for overthrowing the anti-Japanese regime in China, which the Japanese Government regards as inimical to the peace and welfare of East Asia."

The Story Of Viet Nam Versus French Propaganda

J. Hendrick

(The following article was submitted to the REVIEW for publication by the Vietnam News Service, Bangkok, Siam.)

BESIDES carrying out large scale military operations against the Republic of Viet Nam, and conducting political conspiracies aimed at disrupting and replacing the Viet Nam Government under President Ho Chi-minh, the French have maintained an incessant propaganda campaign designed to discredit the Viet Nam government in the eyes of the world.

Repeatedly, French newspapers and French official communiques have insisted that the Viet Nam government was set up by the Japanese and that there were large numbers of Japanese troops fighting in the Viet Nam forces. The Viet Nam government has been labelled by the French as Communist, as fascist, as terrorist, with a complete indifference to fact. The rather naive practice has been adopted by French propagandists of quoting their own statements to substantiate their own claims. Andre Surmer for example, in an extremely biased article ironically entitled "Some Details of Events in Indo-China," quotes 11 sources of information, 10 of them culled from reactionary French newspapers. The other reference was a distorted quotation of an extract from a document issued by the Viet Nam government.

Obvious Untruth

This French journalist further alleges that an unnamed Viet Nam representative at Paris had declared that 15,000 Japanese were fighting in the ranks of the Viet Nam forces. The obvious untruth of such a report is in itself sufficient refutation.

Similarly the accusation of Communist levelled against the Viet Nam government cannot be sustained.

An evaluation of the reliability of French propaganda may be gained by referring to reports made by various journalists who have visited Viet Nam in the last two years, and who in many cases are not in sympathy with the cause of Viet Nam independence. Such writers as Caroline Cooley of *Life* and *Time*, Walter Briggs of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Andrew Roth, representative of several American and Indian journals, Harold Isaacs of *Newsweek* and many others have all found that Viet Nam is neither Communist nor totalitarian, nor was the Viet Nam government created by the Japanese.

In one of his articles Harold Isaacs wrote "The Viet Nam regime was created by leaders who rose from the wartime anti-Japanese underground resistance movement. In the months before Ho Chi-minh became President of the newly formed Republic he was leading Annamite guerilla bands in Tonkin under the direction of American combat teams flown in from China and with arms parachuted to him by American planes. The Annamites engaged the full strength of the Japanese 21st division in the China border region for months. Before that the Annamite underground fought both the Japanese and their French puppets."

Only Resistance

George Sheldon, writing in the *Far Eastern Survey* of December 18, 1946, stated, "the only organized resistance to Japan was that offered by the Vietnamese.'"

In the *Christian Science Monitor* of July 29, 1947, Walter Briggs related interviews he had with French officials, none of whom could show any proof of their insistence that the Viet Nam government was Communist.

As the allegation that Viet Nam was made in Japan was calculated to discredit the Viet Nam government, so the claim that Viet Nam is Communist is calculated both to discredit the government in the eyes of many people and at the same time to secure for the French the continuance of American aid to carry out their subjection of the country and perpetuate what has been termed by Hallett Abend, former chief of the *New York Times* bureau in the Far East, "the worst example of the white man's imperialism to be found in all of Asia."

* * *

NEGLECTING no opportunity to defame the Viet Nam government, the French complained that prisoners of war and internees held by the Viet Nam authorities were maltreated and massacred and that no information could be obtained on their conditions. On May 7, 1947, and on October 4, 1947, representatives of the Viet Nam government and the Viet Nam Red Cross met representatives of the International Red Cross and representatives of the French authorities at Rapids Bridge near Hanoi. At these meetings, attended by the British consul at Hanoi, Mr. Trevor Wilson, letters from French prisoners of war and internees were delivered to the representatives of the International Red Cross, who handed over to the Viet Nam representative medical supplies and money for those detained. The Agence France Presse quoted extracts from some of those letters. In one it was stated "life in the open air, a variety of occupations, news of our families, all these things fill our days. Our morale and our health are excellent." In another from M. Louzier, the general conditions of the camp were praised. He added, "you can assure all whose relatives and friends are in the camp that we are in the best of spirits."

The present struggle in Viet Nam is not inspired by any political ideology other than a desire of the people for freedom which they have been denied under French domination. Throughout the 80 years of French rule in Viet Nam the people were subjected to inhuman exploitation and deprived absolutely of every liberty.

Lowest Standard

French rule reduced the Viet Nam people to a standard of living among the lowest in the world. The average annual earnings of a Viet Nam worker or peasant amounted to US$25 shortly before the war. The disparity in the payment of Viet Nam and French officials was not only unjust but insulting. Five thousand French functionaries received approximately 40,000,000 piastres compared with 15,000,000 paid to 30,000 Viet Nam government employees. The population was forced by government regulation to consume per head seven litres of alcohol per annum and the opium habit was openly encouraged by French to ensure even greater profits from their colony. Education was utterly neglected and for every 38,500 of the population there was one doctor, while for the French there was one doctor for every 250 persons.

The rich natural resources of Viet Nam remained undeveloped, so as to preserve for the great trusts who controlled the country continued sources of supply of cheap raw materials. Investment of foreign capital other than French was closely guarded against.

Despite the oppression and terror, the torturing, the imprisonment and banishment of Viet Nam leaders, the French never succeeded in crushing the movement for national liberation. Since 1860, each year there was at least one uprising of some considerable force. The present struggle in Viet Nam is the culmination of over 80 years' resistance of the Viet Nam people against the injustice of French rule.

During World War II the French authorities collaborated with the Japanese both in suppressing the

Viet Nam people and in the war against the Allied nations. It will be remembered that in 1940, without any resistance from French troops, Japanese de facto control was established in Viet Nam, and on the day that Pearl Harbor was attacked, the French authorities concluded an agreement with Japan, providing economic and military bases for Japanese expansion, facilitating the Japanese conquest of Southeast Asia. On March 9, 1945, the French acceded to Japanese demands, again without resistance, and turned the country over to the complete control of the Japanese.

French Collaboration

The extent of French aid to Japan is perhaps not fully realised, for the French have concealed as far as possible most of the disgraceful details, but from French official documents it is seen that from 1940 to 1943 a total amount of 266,854,230,38 piastres (approximately US$134,000,000) was provided for the upkeep of Japanese troops. In addition, supplies of rubber, wolfram, coal, iron and jute were made available to the Japanese, and to fulfil the needs of the Japanese war machine, thousands of acres of rice fields were forcibly turned over to the cultivation of such crops as the Japanese demanded. This reduction in rice production resulted in the severe famine in the north in 1946, when, out of a population of 10,000,000, up to 2,000,000 died from starvation.

By collaborating with the Japanese during World War II, the French surrendered all claims to dominion over Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, for by the treaties concluded with the Emperors of these countries last century, France was obliged to furnish military protection for the whole territory known as Indo-China in the event of military aggression by a foreign power.

Although the French had, with Japanese assistance, hunted down and massacred thousands of Viet Nam democrats in 1941, the Viet Nam people carried on a successful resistance against both the Japanese and the French. This resistance movement was organised by the Viet Minh (League for the Independence of Viet Nam) in which were incorporated all anti-fascist patriotic political parties in Viet Nam and which was led by Ho Chi-minh. Leaflets issued by the Viet Minh urging "Frenchmen who are loyal to France to join with the Viet Nam people in fighting the common enemy" met with no response. A considerable number of Japanese troops which would otherwise have been used against the Allies were immobilized, and widespread and well organised sabotage was carried out against Japanese undertakings and installations by the Viet Minh.

Following the Japanese surrender the Viet Minh seized power from the Japanese and the puppets they had set up, and on August 19, 1945, the independence of Viet Nam was declared, and the provisional government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was created, with President Ho Chi-minh as leader. Immediately after the Japanese surrendered, French and British troops landed in Viet Nam to carry out the disarming of the Japanese forces in accordance with the Potsdam agreement. However, confronted by the existence of an independent Viet Nam and the legal Viet Nam government, the British and the French authorities decided to retain the Japanese forces intact "to restore law and order." It was subsequently reported that Japanese casualties in "mopping up" operations in South Viet Nam were heavier than those of British, French and Indian forces combined. As in Indonesia, Japanese troops were employed exclusively in attempts to establish the former colonial regime.

The above cartoon depicts Santa Claus being pursued by a Japanese soldier who is demanding "US dollars, munitions and MacArthur."
—From Hwa Shang Pao.

French troops attacked Saigon although the Viet Nam authorities had maintained order and no hostility had been showed to the French population. Following this attack, French control was extended over parts of Nambo (Cochin China).

Nevertheless, in spite of the continual clashes provoked by the French forces, a Preliminary Convention was concluded on March 6, 1946 between France and Viet Nam, whereby Viet Nam was recognized as a sovereign state by the clause which stated that "....the French government recognises the Viet Nam Republic as a free state having its own governmental administration, its own parliament, its own army and its own finances." It was also provided in this agreement that "with respect to the union of the three KY, (Tokin, Annam and Cochin China) the French government pledges itself to ratify the decisions taken by the populations in a referendum."

On March 13, 1946, President Ho Chi-minh addressed a message to the governments and the people of the world in which he protested against the violation of this agreement by the French who had landed troops at Haiphong and demanded the surrender of all arms by the Viet Nam forces. He pointed out that although the Preliminary Convention stipulated that negotiations would be opened immediately between the two parties, no move had been made by the French to implement this provision.

A military convention was signed between France and Viet Nam on April 3, providing for the progressive annual reduction of French forces in Viet Nam territory over a period of five years, at the end of which period no French troops were to remain in Viet Nam. This convention was similarly dishonored by France. Some measure of agreement was reached at a conference at Dalat in April, on economic questions, and on the holding of a further conference at Fontainebleau. The question of the referendum in Cochin China, however, remained unsettled.

None of these agreements in any way changed the obstinate course of French policy. The former palace of the Governor General at Hanoi was occupied by French troops on May 1, 1946, and on June 1, 1946 Admiral d'Argenlieu set up a puppet provisional government in Cochin China, with a Cabinet of nine, seven of whom were French naturalized Vietnamese, although no steps had been taken for the holding of the proposed referendum. Still in the hope of achieving a rapprochement, President Ho Chi-minh came to France for the Fontainebleau Conference which was abandoned when d'Argenlieu convened another conference at Dalat, to which were invited certain elements hostile to Viet Nam.

In a final effort to prevent further hostilities, President Ho Chi-minh signed a *Modus Vivendi* with the Minister for Overseas Territories, Marius Moutet, on September 14. This agreement provided for a cease fire for both sides, to be effective from October 31. On his return to Viet Nam, President Ho Chi-minh, in a speech to the nation, demanded the fullest cooperation with French civilian and military authorities. This instruction was carried out, and the cease fire order was rigorously observed by the Viet Nam forces. Despite the Viet Nam government's display of goodwill and its sincere desire to collaborate, on November 19, French troops established a customs house at Haiphong, an action which inevitably provoked clashes with the Viet Nam forces.

Hard Lesson

French policy is clearly expressed in a telegram to General Morliere, High Commissioner in Tonkin, sent by General Valluy, commander of French troops in Northern Viet Nam. The telegram reads "We must give those Viet Namese a hard lesson and teach them reason." The French subsequently demanded the evacuation of Haiphong by Viet Nam forces and the surrender of all authority in the city to the French Command. Fighting broke out at Langson and Hanoi. A telegram from President Ho Chi-minh to Leon Blum requesting that peace negotiations be opened, and similar appeals to the High Commissioner in Tonkin were ignored. The French Minister for Overseas Territories, M. Marius Moutet, visited Viet Nam during December 1946 and January 1947, and ignored the invitations of Pres-

ident Ho Chi-minh to meet him at Hanoi. Although he refused to meet the President of the Viet Nam Republic, M. Moutet had several conferences with Le Van Hoach, the puppet president of the so-called provisional government of Cochin-China.

This was strange company indeed for a Socialist Minister of France, for Le Van Hoach had faithfully served the Japanese as Police Commissioner in Cochin-China. Following Moutet's visit to Viet Nam, French military action became more extensive, and large reinforcements, including numbers of German prisoners of war and German war criminals, were sent to crush the Viet Nam government. To allay public feeling in France, President Ramadier made eloquent declarations on the desirability of reaching a settlement. The situation progressively deteriorated into a state of war.

Lack Of Response

In an attempt to divide the people, High Commissioner Bollaert opened negotiations indirectly with ex-Emperor Bao, (who had abdicated and pledged his support to the government of President Ho Chi-minh), but the lack of popular response to the French proposal for the return of Bao Dai again showed the unity of the people behind the government of President Ho Chi-minh.

Bollaert, like his predecessor d'Argenlieu, has consistently ignored the Viet Nam government, and the appeals of the Viet Nam government for the opening of negotiations, on the basis of the recognition of Viet Nam as a sovereign state, have been disregarded. He has carried on the futile policy of attempting to reimpose the prewar regime of oppression on a people who have already gained their own freedom. The number of French troops now in Viet Nam is estimated at about 200,000, yet even with this force it has not been possible to secure any notable success. Apart from a few of the large cities and a small extent of the countryside, the country remains under the administration of the Viet Nam government with the unanimous support of the people.

At Hadong on September 10, shortly after his return from consultations with the French government, High Commissioner Bollaert delivered a much publicized speech, which, far from being an offer of peace as was claimed, was couched in such terms as to be considered as an ultimatum. Bollaert made it clear once again that the French government was determined at all costs to continue the same policy. The speech with the so-called peace offers provided for the French to continue their careful preparations for their offensive in the north. For over two months the French have been fighting in the north, using all available manpower and equipment, but have suffered such serious losses that the French troops are now fighting on the defensive.

France is now facing a serious economic and political crisis which is in very large measure due to the enormous expenditure of over US$1,000,000 per day for the war in Viet Nam, to which has been sacrificed all plans for national rehabilitation in France. The present situation in France could have most certainly been averted had the successive French governments adopted a more realistic policy towards Viet Nam, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, instead of dissipating the manpower and the finance of the country in a hopeless colonial adventure. This is a fact which French propaganda can no longer conceal.

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Hongkong: A Political Arena Abroad

Wang Sze-zee

THE political atmosphere in Chinese circles here in Hongkong has been gradually aggravated by the intensification of war in the homeland. Although the aims of the three biggest parties, the Kuomintang, the Democratic League and the Communists, are quite different, here their efforts, are alike in trying to regain what has been lost, to realize their ideologies, to gain power and to perpetuate themselves.

Within and between the aforementioned parties, controversies and struggles prevail. It is a "cold war" and mainly underground, so the outsider wouldn't know too much about its development. Yet careful consideration of these activities of the three parties that are known to the public will bring the scene into clearer focus.

First, let me deal with the Kuomintang. For the time being, it seems that the KMT has adopted a bilateral policy in civil politics which includes launching an armed war against the Communists and, at the same time, a peace offensive toward the outlawed democratic KMT members. Since the CP has made up its mind, once and for all, to achieve its revolution and has openly announced that Chiang will be outlawed from the planned coalition government, Chiang has no possible retreat and must continue his unconditional offensive against the "Red Bandits" to the end.

KMT Plan

Aggrieved by the fact of continuing Communist military advances, the KMT is trying various devices to save itself from approaching annihilation. T. V. Soong's new job, as is widely known, is to build Kwangtung into a base from which a prolonged defensive war can be carried out. The peace offensive toward exiled KMT members is also one of these devices. Frequent rumors have shown the outline of the KMT plan to be thus: the KMT wishes its outlawed, democratic members to come back into the fold, the sooner the better. Then, when the KMT's doom comes into view, Chiang, Sun Fo and the CC heads will resign, and the newly-installed democratic heads will come foreward to dicker with the Communists in constructing a coalition government.

This plan has been evidenced by T. V.'s repeated visits to Hongkong, in the course of which he met Marshal Li Chi-sen for a "pleasant chat" and General Tsai Ting-kai, one of the heads of the abortive People's Government in Fukien. Apparently T. V.'s attempt to persuade General Tsai to organize an army for Kwangtung was a failure. In his second trip to the colony, he tried again, it is said, and also failed.

The KMT democrats are also active these days in Hongkong. Recently they organized what is known as the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, with Marshal Li as president. The policy of the committee, as revealed in the newspapers, includes the following points: a) to deny Chiang's leadership of the KMT, b) to oppose the rule of the present government, c) to establish a coalition government with the Communists, the Democratic League and other democratic parties, and d) to restore Dr. Sun Yat-sen's sensible policy, which includes accepting the CP's cooperation, associating with Soviet Russia and implementing agrarian reform.

Judge By Actions

At present, it is a little early to judge whether or not the formation of this party was partially at the request of the government, or if it was solely the offspring of the unanimous demands of the KMT democrats. We shall have to wait to see, and judge by its future actions.

The outlawed Democratic League is now taking advantage of alien protection to rejuvenate itself. The majority of the League leaders have arrived here safely, one by one, among them Shen Chun-ju, Chang Pu-chun and Chow Hsin-ming. The League is currently holding a convention in which its policy will be determined and renewed.

The Democratic League was and remains an unarmed political body whose goal is to bring peace and democracy to China through bloodless revolution, favoring neither the Kuomintang nor the Communist Party. Experiences over the past two years, however, have taught the League that its ideals are going to be extremely difficult to achieve. Everyone is aware that the armed Communists are gaining the upper hand over the KMT, while the peace-loving League has been persecuted by the Government. So the average observer concludes that the League's ideals are impractical.

There are controversies over land reform—as to whether or not it has been carried too far in Communist China—and more controversies over whether or not many of the so-called liberals are not "tails" of the Communist Party.

Communists Quiet

Very little is known to the public of the Communists' activities here in Hongkong. By studying their magazines and pamphlets, it seems that their chief effort at present is bent on expounding the virtues of agrarian reform and on making known the truth concerning developments in the Civil War.

As I see it, a belief is now taking shape in democratic circles that the realization and success of the Chinese Revolution will depend mainly upon the complete victory of the Communist forces in the Civil War. They are getting closer and closer to final victory, and even if certain democratic rightists do join the Government, the Communists will continue their advance, regardless. The only thing left for a democrat or a democratic party to do now, if he or it wants to be assured of a future, is to cooperate with the Communist Party. On this ground, I believe the League will change its policy to become more leftist, and democratic rightists will be obliged to do likewise if they want to continue to exist.

To the majority of democrats, this kind of change constitutes an ideological revolution against themselves. The common weakness of democratic rightists is their preference for neutrality, while the disputes between the right and the left continue to grow and eventually flare into the war. Now the middle-of-the-road position seems no longer feasible. The only choice remaining is between the KMT and the Communists.

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Is This Religious Freedom In Communist Areas?

Francois Legrand

(This article was submitted to the REVIEW for publication by Father Francois Legrand, formerly a missionary in Chahar.)

HAVING lived under the Communists and having been their prisoner, I have read with great interest the article entitled "Reds Allow Religious Freedom," by Mr. Kenneth Wood in the *China Weekly Review* for January 3. The object of his article is to show that "considerable evidence is accumulating that the official attitude of the Chinese Communist Party towards organized religion and foreign missionaries is undergoing a change," and that the change is towards allowing freedom.

That is a remarkable statement, in view of past protestations that religion was entirely free under the Reds. Mr. Wood tells us that freedom for religion would now be a change. It would, indeed.

My interest in his article, as a report of changing Communist policy, is heightened by two letters received from North China in the last few days.

Present Conditions

The first letter describes present conditions in Jehol, and I quote: "The latest cruelties have been in Shanwantse. There, three catechists, Chang Yun-shih, Li Chin-kui, Tsao, together with Sister Yu and Sister Chang (the latter a daughter of the aforementioned Chang Yun-shih), and two other unnamed Christians were subject to indignities at the hands of the Communists in an endeavor to make them apostatize. They refused absolutely. Then they were forced to sit on the ground, and drawing up their knees, their hands were bound in front of the knees. A stick then was placed under the knees but over the arms leaving them huddled with their chins against their knees. A rope was then attached to each of them and to the harness of a mule. The mules were whipped into a gallop, dragging their victims over the stony ground until all seven were dead."

The second letter tells of events in the Ch'infeng Catholic Mission, and again I quote: "Father Shih was stripped to the waist, and being bound hand and foot was thrown to the ground. With a man sitting on his prone body he was dragged through the streets, then through the sharp stubble of a sorghum field, and finally shot."

In another village Father Chang was dragged in a similar manner and shot. The Communists also tried to force Sister Wang, Sister Chao and Sister Kao to renounce their faith, which the Reds called "The American Religion," and ordered them to marry. When they refused they too were dragged in the same way.

The first letter was dated December 15, the other December 21—just about the time Mr. Kenneth Wood was writing his article.

* * *

My first-hand knowledge of Red policy toward religion dates from the nine months I spent, after the defeat of the Japanese, in Communist regions. As an Allied citizen, a Belgian, I had been interned by the Japanese. After V-J day I hastened to return to my mission. The Reds occupied the area at the time.

Their declarations gave me hope. They were concerned only with the welfare of the people, they said. In many respects their announced social objectives would have harmonized with, and found support in, Catholic social teaching. Religion, they said, would be free and everybody would be protected against oppression.

Hard Facts

I was not long back when hard facts disillusioned me completely. During my stay of nine months, in constant contact with the people and the Red government, I saw the Communists acting in direct contradiction of their published assurances.

They began by throwing the two leading Chinese priests of the place into jail. By the end of January, 1946—less than six months after victory—the Bishop, an Allied national, and four of his priests, three Chinese and one Belgian (myself), were prisoners, on infantile charges. All the mission buildings, orphanage, priests' house and the cathedral itself, were confiscated. Ten Catholics, who had presented a petition to have the cathedral at least spared, were beaten and left for dead. All this I witnessed.

These same things have been repeated to my certain knowledge, in mission after mission, amid the same declarations of religious freedom, in nearly every place occupied by the Reds in Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, Chahar and Jehol.

In recent months conditions have become still worse. Priests have been imprisoned or forced out, until scores of parishes are without pastors. Schools have been turned into centers of Communist propaganda or closed. Even Christian

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works of social aid have not been spared. Hospitals have been confiscated; personnel working in dispensaries and orphanages have been persecuted; homes for the aged have been despoiled.

Under Pressure

Many of the ordinary people, Catholics of the lao pai hsing,—some of them with generations of Christianity behind them—have been intimidated, bullied, imprisoned, tortured and killed. I have been present when some of my own flock, who had entered the party without scrutinizing it too closely and later found they could not leave it, were put under pressure to renounce their religious faith.

In case any reader doubts my testimony, I point to Mr. Kenneth Wood's article. He quotes a Communist spokesman in general confirmation of what I have said. Listen:

"(General) Pai said that the Communists were now changing their former policy and would guarantee to the people freedom of worship as well as guaranteeing the missionaries freedom to carry on their religious work."

But these same guarantees were proclaimed by Red spokesmen at the end of 1945 and all through 1946. General Pai now admits that actual freedom of religion would be a change from their former policy. Obviously. But what likelihood is there that the latest pledge will be fulfilled any more than the former one was?

We have to thank General Pai for his "delightful candor" (to quote a phrase of Mr. Wood's friends) on another point, namely, the excesses of those travesties called Tou Cheng or Mass Trials. Anybody who has lived in Red areas knows that these "trials" are controlled by a small group of leaders, the crowd attends under compulsion and behaves under direction and the most appalling abuses are perpetrated in these proceedings. The Reds have hitherto defended these so-called trials as a form of true democratic justice. Now General Pai tells us that "the Communists are stopping the Mass Trials, because sometimes the crowds were carried away and committed errors." The crowds did nothing, and would dare to do nothing, that the Red organizers did not order.

Mr. Wood quotes documents to prove "that the official attitude of the Communist party towards organized religion and foreign missionaries is undergoing a change." These documents supposedly form an important part of the "considerable evidence" he has found. What are they?

One is a statement made by Governor Yang Hsin-feng of a Communist Border Region to "one missionary" whose name, nationaltiy, and affiliation are not given.

Old Cliches

The statement repeats the old cliches. "Many missions had large properties. The lao pai hsing felt that Saint Mary had less use for land than they had." This was in a border area of Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan, apparently. Can this nameless missionary tell us where these large properties were? Did he point out to Governor Yang that institutions under the noble title of Notre Dame, China's Sheng Mung Malia, were operated purely for the benefit of the lao pai hsing and had been operating for them many years before a Marxist party was formed in China? And where has any confiscation of mission property been the undictated work of the lao pai hsing? What chance have the lao pai hsing, Christian or non-Christian, to raise their voice in the slightest protest or criticism of anything that the Communist party machine dictates?

Then the Governor, as reported by this anonymous missionary, speaks of the Catholic mission in Hsingtai as "a case in point" illustrating "collaboration" and "profiteering" on the war. I have seen some of the Communist publicity on the Hsingtan mission last year but it is only now that profiteering is mentioned. The charge harmonizes, however, with the others made against the priests and Sisters there . . . . They dissected living patients and removed their eyes and hearts, and sold their blood to the Japanese, according to the Reds. And the Protestant mission hospital was accused of the same. Then some priest built something, the shadow of which blighted somebody else's crop.

If I were a Communist, I should avoid mention of Hsingtai as a very embarrasing subject . . . Hsingtai, where the whole Communist case was stultified by the ridiculous accusations made, where at a mass trial a defenseless nursing Sister was beaten, bleeding, to the ground, where bishop and priests were placed naked to the waist in the open on a December day, where men who had befriended the Red guerrillas during the war against Japan were assailed, given no chance to refute the ludicrous accusations brought against them, and were forced to sign over even the hospital in which they had shielded wounded Reds and cared for innumerable sick members of the lao pai hsing.

Loss Of Face

Probably nothing has brought greater loss of face to the Communist party in Hopei than their treatment of the priests, Sisters and lay Catholics of Hsingtai.

The second document quoted by Mr. Wood is a formal statement entitled "Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region Government policy towards Catholic and Protestant Missions."

This is presented as evidence of a recent change of attitude. Mr. Wood may not know that this document is not recent. Copies of it were already in Shanghai and Peiping precisely 12 months ago. Who has been trying to deceive whom?

This document, presented now as encouragement for mission bodies to contribute relief supplies for use as the Communist Party may dictate, is truly informative when analyzed. It would take us too long to analyze it in full. I cite only Section 7 as indicative.

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"A 'perpendicular' system of control of missions shall not be recognized by law. Due to conflicts with the Border Region government administration, all problems of the missions shall be solved locally."

That is, the Communists refuse to recognize the affiliation of one mission with another. No more central direction, no more mission boards, no more diocese, no more bishops . . . no more freedom, mes amis! "All problems shall be solved locally." Therefore each little mission post shall be isolated, and itself and its "problems" will find solution, which is another word for liquidation, at the hands of the local Communist leaders.

Conscious Of Duty

It is, of course, suggested that only those missionaries who fail to observe the law, and who fail to work for the good of the people, will have any trouble.

I speak from experience, and much of it. Missionaries in Communist areas at the end of 1945 and during 1946 were quite conscious not only of their ordinary social and civic duty but also of the Communists' desire to find some pretext for finding fault with them. Accordingly, they took scrupulous care to observe every regulation. We even attended the innumerable and interminable meetings at which long speeches were made against the Reds' political opponents, against the United States, against all foreigners, and against capitalism. I have spent countless hours under rain and sun, in winter's cold and lashed by the winds, listening to propaganda talks that often included slighting allusions to ourselves and our local Christians.

Furthermore, every time the Communists came to "borrow" something from the mission, we made it a point to present them with it, until not only the greater part of our furniture but also of our living space was taken over by the Reds. Even after the property of the mission—essential for its work for the people—had been confiscated, the Catholics ill-treated and the bishop and priests jailed, the missionaries refrained from making any public report of these outrages. It was only indirectly that the newspapers came to know of them. Many like myself held on to the hope that we could find some basis of understanding, some formula on which we could work together in the field of social and welfare action. The missionaries made all the advances, all the concessions, tried every means that might conciliate even the most prejudiced. But confiscation, the prison cell, the hangman's rope or the bullet, have been the answer.

* * *

The missionaries are still willing to work anywhere for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Chinese people. They will welcome any authentic assurance that, as Mr. Wood's unnamed friends report, "the Communists are now far more reasonable and receptive to overtures from mission bodies than they have been before."

Justified By History

But the missionaries are justified by recent history in asking:

1. Are these assurances merely for temporary expediency—to induce relief agencies under mission auspices to send in supplies, now that UNRRA supplies are no longer available for any Communist areas?

2. Will the Communists prove their sincerity at once by releasing the priests, Sisters and lay persons whom they have held in captivity, by halting their program of intimidation, torture, and spoliation of churches?

The vaguely described representatives quoted by Mr. Wood tell us that Communist General Pai, after announcing the Reds' change of policy to permit freedom of religion and to stop the mass trials, made the following admission:—

"These last two points are, of course, promises for future rather than present actions." Present actions, however, are the practical proof of a policy.

We suggest unreserved democratic religious freedom in the immediate present as the first step toward proving the sincerity of any promise for the future.

In the immediate present, religious persecution is a fact, written in pillaged churches and confiscated schools, in blood and bruises, and in bullet-pierced bodies.

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The Completion Of The Lohui Canal

(This article was sent to the REVIEW for publication by the Chinese Government Information Office.)

WITH the completion of the Lohui Canal, into which water was diverted from the Lo River on December 12 after 15 years of continuous excavation, approximately 83,000 acres of land will be irrigated to enrich the economic life of the farming populace in Central Shensi.

The Canal, with a total length of 64 miles, has six branches and traverses the counties of Tali and Chaoyi, some 80 miles east of Sian in the area where the Lo River flows into the Yellow River.

The Lo River rises in northwest Shensi and is about 300 miles long. It flows down from the loess-covered hills to the alluvial plain, heavily laden with silt. Its irrigation value is negligible until it reaches the border of Pucheng and Tengcheng counties in central Shensi, when it is no longer confined in the rocky mountains.

Spillway Dam

At Laochwang in the county of Tengcheng, both the river banks and its bed are limestone, extremely favorable for the construction of a spillway dam to divert waters for irrigation purposes. Li Yi-chih, China's foremost hydraulic engineer, first blueprinted the Lohui Canal, and 10 years after his death, Li's dream has become a reality.

The project comprises an arc-shaped dam, 16.20 meters high and 177 meters long, which was built of concrete and loose rocks quarried from nearby mountains, a small dam which directs waters into the Canal and a regulator which diverts into six other channels in order to drain more land than a single waterway can possibly service.

The small dam is divided into two bays, each 2.6 meters wide and two meters high. It has wooden gates covered with steel plates, the raising and lowering of which are done by a hand-operated machine. Near the dam is an escape-sluice which returns the excessive water during the flood season to the Lo River.

Between Laochwang, where the spillway dam is located, and the diversion regulator, where the six branches leave the canal, there is a distance of some 14 miles in the Tienlian Mountains. To direct the waters through, five tunnels were dug through the cliffs. Of these tunnels, the fifth one, north of Yiching (public well) Village in the county of Tali, was the most difficult to build.

The tunnel is 3,377 meters long, the longest of its kind in China. It was dug through a mountain abundant in shifting sand and hidden fountains. As soon as excavations were made, the shifting sand began to cave in and muddy water started to gush up. Lack of adequate means to dispose of the mud and water retarded the progress of the work.

The excavation of the tunnel was commenced in February, 1933. Up to the end of 1938, four-fifths of its work was done, with the remaining stretch, the hardest of all, still untouched. In the years between 1938 and 1942 all conceivable means such as compressed air devices and the use of steel plates to keep the mud from caving in were used, but to no avail.

At one time as many as 2,500 laborers worked in the foul air of the dimly-lit tunnel. Many hundreds were engaged in excavation and many hundreds more were busy pumping water and mud out of the tunnel. These laborers had to wage an incessant war against the slime. The work inched forward throughout the war years when the Japanese were only a few miles away across the Yellow River.

Eventually, it seemed almost futile to proceed with the job. Then a personal message came from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, urging the workers to complete their unfinished task. The garrison forces of Shensi offered their services to dig an open-cut tunnel for the canal.

The picture shows people standing at both sides of the canal, happy to see the stream running to the fields.

Encouraged, the engineers and laborers pushed their work with redoubled efforts.

Tunnel Completed

In November, 1946, the tunnel was finally completed, with its stone walls reinforced by three-inches-deep concrete. In the construction of this tunnel, 50 laborers lost their lives. Chang Ping-chih, the engineer in charge, slipped off a cliff and fell to his death while surveying the project. To honor his memory, the tunnel was named after him.

Heading the Lohui Canal Commission, which has been in charge of the canal construction, is Lu Shih-chi, a native of Soochow, Kiangsu. When he first came to the valley, he was young and well-dressed, but 12 years of service have worn him down. Now, at 50, he looks much older than his age.

Government appropriations for the project at one time or another in the 15 years have amounted to CNC$3,015,000 at its pre-war value. This is a paltry sum when the direct benefits to be derived from irrigating the vast area of land by this canal are considered. It is estimated that an annual increase of 100,000 *shihtan* (a *shihtan* is approximately 110 lbs.) of wheat, 75,000 *shihtan* of beans and 75,000 catties of cotton can be expected from the enriched soil of the adjacent land.

No wonder the villagers of Tali and Tengcheng have responded to the completion of the Canal with great enthusiasm. On the day of its officially opening, 3,000 farmers and their families attended the ceremony, their faces beaming with happines. They share the belief that famines, which have brought deaths to thousands of people in the Lo valley, will soon become a thing of the past.

Source of water supply for the Lohui canal is a waterfall on the upper reaches of the Lo River near Tenghsien in Shensi.

Wanted: Reforms In Eating

Pao Tsu-yu

THOSE of us who have traveled in China cannot fail to realize that the majority of the people are terribly poor. Their poverty is such as to numb their feelings, and for this reason many people in the street appear ignorant and devoid of sensitivity. In contrast to this majority of poor, there is a handful of rich who hope to attract notice through such devices as a noisy limousine horn. Then, in this same small group, there are the supposedly "highly educated" who are prone to proclaim their "higher education" through the facility of calling themselves by foreign names such as "Jolly Dolly" or "Moses Ching," etc.

Somewhere between these groups are a few sensible unknowns whose hearts continuously ache at the hopeless poverty of their countrymen and the mental and spiritual corruption on the part of their "social leaders." It is also through the behavior of the latter group that most observers of China are bound to arrive at conclusions, however hasty they may be, about the country and its people.

On the question of whether China is heading towards a healthy progress in education, science and industry or whether most of her "advanced" sons and daughters have been spending their time and money in foreign countries and adopting foreign names, apparel, and behavior, indications point more strongly to the latter than to the former. In making this assertion, I do not wish to appear as a conservative in pointing out these Chinese who call themselves "Jolly Stone" or who don foreign clothes and paint their faces beyond recognition. I rather wish to deplore the fact that many Chinese men and women, who have discarded their original Chinese names and adopted foreign ones, do not seem in the least inclined to discard the harmful, and yet easily corrected, manner of eating their meals.

Health Campaign

Despite the much publicized health campaigns, it is quite common for one to dine with a Chinese "Washington" or "Cleopatra" who find it perfectly natural to dip their chopsticks and spoons into the delicacies that are to be shared among their fellow diners, after the same chopsticks and spoons have been thrust into their own mouths. The "Washington Wu, M.D." or the "Cleopatra Chang, M.A.," must be well aware of the existence of germs and the danger of contagious diseases that are transferable by the mouth. Therefore, their habit of eating cannot, by any practical standard, be considered hygienic or civil to their fellow diners.

To change this sort of habit is quite simple and does not require any material loss whatsoever. Yet, here in China, one often dines with a dozen smartly foreign-dressed Chinese, whose names are half foreign and half Chinese, but who do not consider it necessary to change their method of eating. A friend of mine invited a foreign educated "Alexander Ho"—to use a pseudonym—to have dinner at his home. The host, Mr. Lee, was born and brought up abroad, and has been in the habit of eating his meals in a sanitary way, which means that he has additional spoons to be used for each individual dish. The diners were to help themselves by taking their share of food with those specific spoons and place these shares into the bowls or plates separately reserved for individual use. Mr. Ho, noticing this different manner of eating, was more annoyed than pleased, for he remarked to his host: "Do you find these extra spoons and plates necessary? We can very well pick up whatever we want with our chopsticks and eat it. You seem afraid that somebody here might infect you with some kind of disease. For my part, I can assure you that I am quite free from any disease."

Disease Transferred

Mr. Lee, retaining his presence of mind, answered, "I am sorry that you misunderstand my intentions. As I am the host here I consider myself duty bound to have my guests eat the food I serve without any risk of their getting sick. Although you may be perfectly healthy, how do you know that I don't have some disease? Should I transfer any possible disease I might have to my guests through our unsanitary way of eating, I would feel very guilty indeed!" These remarks were made somewhat jokingly, but, judging by the subsequent attitude of the Chinese guests, the host's methods were not greatly appreciated by the majority.

Soon after V-J Day, many grateful and enthusiastic Chinese made it a point to invite foreign friends to their homes. I was present at one dinner, and next to me sat an American captain and his lady friend. They both seemed to be well-bred and did their best to appreciate the delicious Chinese dishes. However, I could not help noticing that the couple never tried to touch any dishes after their first poor attempts at getting some food from every new portion put on the table. They invariably ceased taking any food once the other diners had poked their chopsticks into it. Cognisant of their sensitivity, I didn't make any remarks, but admitted to them later that the manner of eating at Chinese dinners is obviously embarrassing to those people who wish to observe the elementary rules of hygiene and courtesy at the same time. They fully agreed with me.

"When In Rome . . ."

In discussing this obvious fault of ours, some "patriots" have remarked that we do not have to change our custom of eating merely for the sake of the foreigners. Others quote the saying: "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." Therefore, the foreigners may as well do in China what the Chinese do. If this is to be our attitude towards the foreigners then why should we copy foreign names and apparel or discard anything Chinese at all?

It is a shame for us to give people the impression that in matters of personal culture and mode of thinking we cannot or do not care to change in the right direction. Moreover, to change our custom of eating in accordance with the demands of proper hygiene would benefit our own people in that it would help to minimize the danger of spreading contagious diseases.

Having campaigns against public spitting without educating our people to change their unsanitary methods of eating is rather like putting the cart before the horse.

With reference to spitting, it is not the spitting itself that is so offensive but rather the manner in which the people clear their throats. The foreign-born students of a local University, for example, often have had to throw out by force some native students from the dining room because they could not bear to hear the disgustingly loud gurgles that precede the actual spitting.

Perhaps if parents gave their children the necessary good examples in the matter of eating and spitting, fewer pamphlets and posters would be needed for our health campaigns. Education, after all, begins at home, and deplorable indeed is the fact that the sincere efforts of our honest reformers are often rendered ineffective by what goes on in the average Chinese home. It is here that the children see and learn these unsanitary habits. A rejuvenated and vigorously enforced New Life Movement should do China a great deal of good.

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Tsinan-Pukow Railroad In Operation

Joseph I. C. Luan

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

Tsinan, December 31.

COMMUNICATIONS to a city, like arteries to the human body, are essential to its well-being. In China, communication by railroad has and will play an important part in linking large cities and bringing necessary and important changes to the rural districts.

The restoration of the Tsinan-Pukow line, the southern part of the Tsin-pu railroad, is of vital importance in the economic development of Tsinan and in the military and political struggle for North China. It is a well known fact that the city of Tsinan produces nothing of much value. Thus, most of its consumer goods are brought in from Shanghai, Tsingtao and other large cities.

Suspension of a part of the Tsin-pu railroad since VJ Day, and the complete closing down of the Tsiao-tsi railroad since February 23, 1947, have caused great hardship to this city, particularly as regards the scarcity of coal, gasoline, kerosene and clothing. Tsinan could receive these necessities either by air or highway transportation but the costs are tremendous. This is well exemplified by comparing commodity prices in this city with other localities:

Price Comparisons

Coal: In Poshan (150 kilometers southeast of Tsinan) it is CNC$500,000 per ton, but in Tsinan the price is CNC$3,000,000.

Rice: In Yanchow, one month before the restoration of the railroad the cost was CNC$3,000 per catty, in Tsinan, CNC$6,000.

Immediately after the PCC "cease fire" order of January 13, 1946, the northern line (from Hanchow) of the Tsin-Pu railroad was almost entirely destroyed. The road ran for no more than 100 kilometers at first, and then later was reduced to about 25 kilometers. This undoubtedly caused great difficulty to Tsinan. Although, last winter, the Tsingtao-Tsinan railroad was back in operation it was so for a mere 70 days and was of little help to this city's hungry population.

The repairing of the road began on October 9, 1946, from Hanchuang, about 50 kilometers north of Hsuchow. The corps of workers was made up of no more than 6,000, which carried out the assignment quite rapidly and in eight days, 14 bridges were raised. But afterwards work was temporarily suspended because of the battle raging north of Lincheng (251 kilometers south of Tsinan).

From March 11 until April 30 last year, work was concentrated on restoring the Lin-Cheng-Yanchow line (156 kilometers south of Tsinan). During its 56 days effort (13 days must be excluded because of the existence of a battle and bad weather conditions) 94 kilometers were repaired and, simultaneously, 60 railway bridges, along with the building of numerous station houses and telegraphic equipment. The through train from Yanchow to Pukow began running on June 1.

The most difficult line to restore was the Yanchow-Tsinan railway. Stones and building material were in great need. Besides, this line is mountainous and full of curves and bridges. According to authoritative statistics, materials needed in repairing this line are listed as follows:

Rails (160,005 kilometers)	34,000	(including branches)
Sleepers	345,000	
Rail spikes	1,200,000	
Bridge arches	275	
Large bridges (132)	2,400	meters
Small bridges (50)	655	„
Temporary bridges	6,000	„
Telegraph poles	2,860	
Wire and copper	572,000	meters
Iron	134,000	„
Stations (which were destroyed)	19	
Water supply equipment	4	
Carriages (including locomotives)	434	

There are at least four large bridges which have not been built because of the lack of material and adequate manpower. Mr. An Wen-lan, chief of the Engineering Section of the Tsin-Pu Railway System Administration, and concurrently the head of the working corps, told me that it would take at least one or two years to raise the funds needed for the four bridges. The lengths and heights are as follows:

Name	Height meters	Length meters
Ta Wen-ho (steel) ..	8	500
Hsiao Wen-ho (cement)	8	400
Pan-ho	7	200
Shieh-Tien (steel) ..	23	210

Work at restoring this line began June 1, 1947 from Yanchow. In order to overcome the difficulty caused by the impossibility of building these bridges, three temporary lines and a "switch road" (resembling the letter "n" in form) were installed near Shih-tien bridge. Many temporary bridges were erected with sleepers because of the dearth of steel materials. Nearly 20,000 workers were mobilized daily for this task and were divided into the following groups: Bank Repairing Corps, about 10,000 farmers; Bridge Erecting Corps, about 1,000 persons; Rail Paving Corps, about 1,000 persons; Telegraph Corps, about 200 persons; and the rest were assigned miscellaneous jobs.

High Cost

The restoration of this line would cost CNC$60,400,000,000. This is not sufficient to cover the cost of 345,000 sleepers, which would amount to CNC$155,200,000,000. If the costs for bridge materials and for transportation are not taken into account the reconstruction of the line would still amount to CNC$215,600,000,000.

This work was concluded by November 29, about 20 miles south of Tsinan, between Ku-shan and Chang-hsia. The board, which was invited to witness the conclusion of these repairs stated in a report, "We are pleased over the restoration of the southern part of Tsin-Pu's railroad because it makes possible the exchange of commodities between the north and south. We sincerely hope that the authorities will protect this railroad from possible destruction by the Communist Party, for this line is the life-line of Tsinan and its people."

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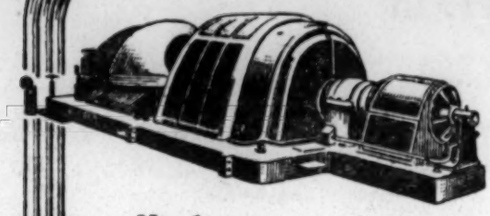

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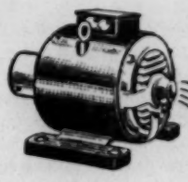
SINCE 1940 regular advertising has been discontinued except for the publication of rate changes. This economy has been necessary because of inadequate earnings since 1937, and because the pre-war shortage of fuel and the post-war shortage of generating capacity forced restrictions upon power usage.

Despite the generous space and fair interpretations of the critical power shortage in Shanghai given by the press from time to time, there are some persons who are not clear as to precisely why they must economize in the use of electricity, or as to the purpose of the present restraints in the form of allotments and restrictive charges imposed upon them.

Because it no longer seems fair to impose the costs of publicity and explanations upon free space, contributed by the press, it is proposed to publish a series of paid notices dealing with the power problem in Shanghai.

This is simply an announcement of the forthcoming series.

NOTICES UNDER THIS INTRODUCTION, SERIALLY NUMBERED, WILL APPEAR CURRENTLY AND SO FAR AS POSSIBLE IN THE SAME SPACE IN THIS PUBLICATION.



Free Exchange Mart Wanted

J. R. Kaim

ON January 9, a spokesman of the Nanking Finance Ministry, according to a *Reuter* dispatch, "emphatically denied rumors current in Shanghai that the Chinese Government was considering withdrawal of foreign exchange control." He emphasized that, on the contrary, such control would be tightened in the future rather than relaxed. To say the least, that statement was amazing.

During the past two weeks, this writer has had the opportunity to interview more than a dozen business men, financiers and officials on the question of the benefit of the present finance restrictions. He could find not a single advocate of the prevailing system.

It has been stated, and not only in China, that finance control without commodity price control has little if any influence on the development of foreign exchange rates. Nor can it stop inflation. But it can and does create hundreds or even thousands of offenders and "criminals."

Black exchange markets cannot be eliminated by police action alone. Any really effective fight against black markets can be carried out only by eliminating the chief reasons for the black markets' very existence and in this respect the emphatic denial mentioned above certainly cannot help the situation. For one of the reasons why black foreign exchange markets do exist is that people want to avoid the inevitable losses they would suffer if they either keep large amounts in national currency or calculate on the basis of official open market rates. It needs no great effort to find out that most commodity prices in Shanghai—and particularly prices of would-be export goods—usually increase not in concert with official rates but with black market rates.

Government Control

The Government controls imports and exports. The Government also controls its own expenditure. This, one should think, would be sufficient to ensure control of the financial market. What exactly would happen if the Government lifted the now prevailing restrictions and exchange controls, we do not know. But there is little doubt in local financial quarters that had the US dollar been given a chance to find its own level, the rate would have been below recently rumored black rates.

Who actually is using the black exchange market?

Black exchange, of course, is needed for bringing smuggled goods into China. There may or there may not be smuggling: clandestine imports as such obviously are not a consequence of money restrictions but of trade restrictions. But clandestine exports are caused by finance restriction. The new anti-smuggling agreement with Hongkong may render such trading of commodities difficult, but the fact is that many products cannot be exported at all if exporters are supposed to calculate in, and to receive payment according to, official exchange rates. No doubt, they would export openly were there a normal exchange market with realistic rates.

Just as control of the whole China coast is impossible, overseas remitters cannot be forced to use official channels. However, they will use dark alleys only as long as the "black" exchange is more profitable.

But, we are told, if the exchange market were uncontrolled, people would remit their money abroad.

This certainly is an incorrect supposition. Business men need their funds. They want to do business. They may remit profits, but this would be quite understandable. Others may remit private money.

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But is not this exactly the purpose for which the black market is now being used? That apparently is the one sector of the black market where the best profits are made with the smallest risks for the operators. So what would be the difference, if, instead of using clandestine methods, people were permitted to act legally?

Unrealistic Rate

True, a free exchange market also has some disadvantages. Buying for and by the State would be more "expensive." The State would "buy" foreign exchange not at rates it has established itself but at a rate based on actual supply and demand. Theoretically, this would be a disadvantage. In practice it would make no difference. For its own purchases, the State, for similar reasons, stuck to the very unrealistic rate of CNC$12,000 for one US dollar even after the introduction of the present "flexible" rate. But after some time the Government gave up the scheme and at present acknowledges only one rate.

But the advantages of a free exchange market are certainly more numerous and more important than its disadvantages:

Expenses would be smaller. There would no longer be an army of officials, controllers, and policemen engaged in handling or controlling foreign exchange. There would be no black market with all its disadvantages. There would be remittances from abroad. And there would be a chance to encourage foreign investments.

As matters are at present, foreign capital cannot and will not invest. Money is invested with a view to making profits.

Automatically Legal

Were the exchange market free, investments might be made in the form of capital goods or raw materials. No longer would the Central Bank have to worry about exchange for such supplies. There would be no question as to whether such cargoes were paid for legally or illegally. Once the import is legal the payment would automatically be legal.

So evident are the advantages of a free exchange market under prevailing general conditions in this country, and so evident are the disadvantages of the present exchange control system, that to hear businessmen, financiers and independent economists request the return to normal exchange conditions is no wonder at all. If there is something in this respect to wonder about, it is the emphatic denial given by the Finance Ministry's official who declared that what is planned is not a lifting but a tightening of controls. In other words, a system whose shortcomings are obvious to most will be backed by all means. And the black exchange market shall become even darker.

Evidently this is not what most well-trained Chinese economists have hopefully been expecting.

The Week's Business

CHIEF financial event during the week under review (January 8 to January 14) was the announcement, on January 12, of the new official foreign exchange rates. The dollar buying rate was hiked from CNC$88,000 to CNC$112,000 and the pound Sterling rate from CNC$287,000 to CNC$370,000. Thus, the cross rate between the two key currencies is at present US$3.30 for the pound, indicating a slight improvement in the value of the pound.

Indicative of a further sharp drop in the value of the Chinese currency, the above 27 percent hike failed to make a general impression on either the money or commodity markets. As to the former, the private interest rate of 24 percent per month, though appearing tremendous at first glance proved to be insufficient to cope with the loss in substance caused by the drastic cut in the value of the national tender; charging 24 to 26 percent per month money lenders theoretically lost, when the dollar price was raised by more than 27 percent. Actually, of course, no direct losses occurred as further charges, apart from interest, bridge such and similar gaps between rates of interest on the one hand and foreign exchange on the other.

With the exception of a few imported goods, commodity prices failed to react at once. The price of gasolene went up by about 24 percent, i.e., almost as much as the official dollar price, and several foodstuffs gained between 10 and 20 percent in price. In general, however, prices remained unchanged and in some lines they even declined.

This amazing fact was the result of the tight money situation. Holders of and dealers in essential commodities such as textiles, chemicals, and iron goods were forced to sell at unfavorable prices in order to settle bank accounts or to cover postdated checks.

With a view to further tightening the money market and, thus, curbing speculation, the Finance Control Bureau recently forwarded new forms to all banks and insurance companies. As from now, finance institutions are bound to make known names and addresses of their money-borrowing clients as well as the amount and purpose of any loan or credit granted by the respective bank or insurance company.

However, to a certain extent the Government's tight money policy has been counteracted through further arrivals in Shanghai and Canton of huge amounts in national currency. As domestic remittances are controlled, holders of large sums of idle funds in the North and in certain Communist-endangered areas, have proved very ingenious in "smuggling" their holdings to the coast. They even run the risk of airmailing parcels full of high denomination banknotes to Shanghai.

With all black markets controlled and commodity markets uneasy, the bulks of such funds went to the Stock Exchange, where Wing On Textiles, on Wednesday were quoted at 815, compared with 655 one week earlier. On the same day, however, Mayar Silk reached 1,310, compared with 1,355 the Wednesday before.

As to the manifold news and rumors referring to forthcoming American financial aid, the market hardly reacted at all. Financiers as well as Stock Exchange operators adhered to the view that whatever may be decided in this respect, it will take quite some time until any effects will be felt here.

Signed some time ago, the new Hongkong-China anti-smuggling pact came into effect on January 12. While smuggling of cargo into China may be rendered more difficult, one of the chief purposes of the new agreement is the tightening of export controls. Hongkong authorities are supposed to grant licences for the export of commodities made in or imported from Chinese territory only after due proof has been supplied to them by would-be exporters that foreign exchange resulting from exports has been or will be remitted to the Central Bank or any of its appointed financial institutions. Intended to render impossible the smuggling out of cargo—and the retention of foreign exchange derived from such exports—the new agreement is certain to impress the imported commodities market at least for some time.

Exporters of China produce continue to claim that in spite of the above-mentioned readjustment of foreign exchange rates, exports of the most typical China products are hardly possible at all. As to silk, even the Central Trust of China, giant Government-run agency, decided to suspend business.

Quotations

Stocks	Jan. 7	Jan. 14
	CNC$	CNC$
Wing On Textiles	655	815
Mayar Silk	1,355	1,310
Commercial Press	390	430
Wing On Co.	372	310
Ewo Cotton	485,000	650,000
Bond C	48,800	68,000

Commodities	Jan. 7	Jan. 14
	CNC$	CNC$
White Rice, first	1,350,000	1,425,000
Wheat Flour	580,000	598,000
Peanut Oil	2,950,000	3,040,000
Raw Silk "C"	98,000,000	102,000,000
Jap. Rayon	111,000,000	104,000,000
Cotton Yarn 42	60,000,000	61,300,000
Cotton Yarn 20	36,200,000	36,200,000
Caustic Soda	51,000,000	58,000,000
Koo Pun Soap	1,450,000	1,870,000

The Review's English Lesson—XIV

ANSWERING QUESTIONS FROM A READER IN WENCHOW

A READER in Wenchow has recently sent in a number of questions mainly about English usage, and because many of his questions will interest our readers, we answer him on this page. The last three questions refer to editorials in the *Review* for December 20, 1947.

1. **Q.** Which is more popular: "Victory **over** Japan Day," or "Victory **in** Japan Day"?

A. Over is correct, but no one uses it. The most common expression is simply "V-J Day".

2. **Q.** What is meant by **Issue** in "Government Issue?"

A. Assigned or **Given Out.** Thus, the full meaning of "GI" is: "Things given out or assigned for a specific time or purpose to an individual or a group by the Government".

3. **Q.** Can **follow** be followed by **with** instead of **by?**

A. Yes. The meaning is the same, but there is a slightly different construction, as follows:

a) After Wang finished speaking, Chen followed **by** singing the class song.
b) After Wang finished speaking, Chen followed **with** the class song.

4. **Q.** What is the proper preposition to use after "the equivalent": **of, for,** or **to?**

A. Of. If you use **to,** do not use **the** before **equivalent.** Both prepositions should really be thought of as part of "equivalent" to show a comparison. **For** would not be used to show comparison, but **for** can, of course, introduce an adverbial phrase which might be placed after "equivalent" as in c), or before "equivalent" as in d).

a) One acre is **the equivalent of** six mow.
b) One acre **is equivalent to** six mow.
c) These two cups are roughly equivalent **for** our purposes.
d) **For** our purposes these two cups are roughly equivalent.

5. **Q.** What does **witchhunt** mean?

A. "Drastic effort to reveal or take action against people who have ideas or opinions different from those held by the group in power." This term is very common in American political life. It is applied in ridicule of or opposition to the practice of bothering people who hold different political or social ideas.

The term probably originated in England before the early English colonists came to the American Continent, because a person suspected of being a witch could then be prosecuted in a court of law. Since the English settlers to New England (the northeastern part of the US) in the 17th century brought both English law and strict church community government with them, witches were still hunted in the colonies of the New World, and a number of people were legally imprisoned or killed as witches before popular sentiment turned against such laws.

6. **Q.** What is the distinction here:

a) We might shrug it off, concluding that it....
b) We might shrug it off and conclude that it....
c) We might, shrugging it off, conclude that it....?

A. No difference in meaning.

7. **Q.** Does **to make the headlines** mean **to attract attention?**

A. No and yes. Strictly speaking it means: "to be mentioned in the headlines of a newspaper." But if you say that someone likes "to make the headlines," you mean that he or she wants to attract attention.

8. **Q.** What is the distinction between "State" begun with a capital letter, and "state" begun with a small letter? (See the *Review,* December 20, 1947, p. 73, para. 7 and 8, "State-operated enterprises" and "state-operated enterprises.")

A. The general rule here would be to use a capital letter when referring to a particular state, and to use a small letter when referring to the general idea of nationally-owned-and-operated enterprises. The difference in the *Review's* use, as noted above, is due to carelessness. There is no reason why the two first letters should not be the same.

The real question, however, is: Capital "s" or small "s?" In this case either will serve, depending on the emphasis of the writer. If he means to emphasize here the idea of "Chinese Government-operated enterprises", he would use a capital "s." If, on the other hand, he means that the Government supports the general economic theory that enterprises operated by any government should be self-supporting, he would use a small "s".

In actual use, even this distinction is not clearly maintained. Most American writers seem almost by instinct to favor using a small "s", perhaps because in American political usage "state" is almost always used to refer to the 48 states that compose the US, and also, perhaps because most Americans do not automatically regard the American National Government as a super-government having full powers over all aspects of individual life. From the use of "State" in writings about fascist political life and organization, most Americans would tend to associate "State" with a highly-controlled, centralized government and, therefore, a government not entirely acceptable to their way of life.

9. **Q.** Does "bypassing the Legislative Yuan" mean "not passing it?" (p. 73).

A. It means "passing by," i.e., "going around," "avoiding," or "acting without paying attention to the Legislative Yuan."

The form of this word is interesting because it is one of a number of recently-made words in

What U.S. Papers Say . . . . .

THE *New York Herald Tribune* stressed once more that the China problem is not solely military. The proclamation of independence by Burma was generally hailed as an important event.

* * *

China

COMMENTING on the current situation in China, the *New York Herald Tribune* said editorially: "New Communist victories in China seem to be in prospect, notably in Manchuria, and so debate over American aid to the Nanking Government is likely to be revised and the tone become more intense. Some of those who engage in debate, unfortunately, are likely to follow precedent and to talk as if civil war in China involved nothing but military problems—which is a serious misconception—and could be won by military means alone.

"There might be a better understanding of China in the United States if more attention were paid to Asia as a whole and the relation of events in China to events in neighboring countries. In any discussion of the general picture in Asia, obviously enough, there is one tremendous fact that is fundamental. It is this: Asia is in the midst of a period of revolution. A great political revolution, nationalist in character, has brought into being new governments in India and Burma and is likely to produce others soon in Indo-China and Indonesia. An agrarian revolution, aimed at giving title to the soil to the men who till it, is well under way in China and is developing in other countries. Social revolution is in progress in many regions. It already is beginning to break down the caste system of Hindus in India. An industrial revolution, related in comparison with those in Western Europe and the United States, is in evidence in various countries and will bring about swift changes in the Orient as soon as political stability is achieved.

"Political leaders in Asia who have achieved spectacular success in recent years have done so by making themselves symbols of revolutionary aspirations. This can be expected to recur in all countries of the East—including China—until the period of revolution draws to a close. Up to the present, two different groups of leaders in China have been symbols of two different aspects of concurrent revolutions. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has been the principal symbol of nationalist aspirations of the Chinese people. Because of this he was able to unify most of China, to defend the country in the Japanese war and to obtain a revision of treaties that once gave foreigners in China a standing superior to that of Chinese citizens.

"The accomplishments of the Generalissimo were extraordinary, but in achieving them he failed to make himself a symbol of the struggle of the ordinary peasant in China for a better life. Although the founder of his party, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, had preached agrarian reform, Chiang—whose burdens were many and almost beyond the power of any one man to carry—developed the tendency to rely on the power of the landlords. At one time he was almost forced to do so—when he was shoved back into the semi-feudal areas of China by the Japanese. But even when he had more freedom he did not seem to have any strong interest in improving the lot of the peasants.

"Chinese Communist leaders realized that the Generalissimo's failure gave them an advantage. They did their utmost to make themselves symbols of the desire for agrarian reform in China. Possibly they had no real interest in the welfare of the Chinese peasants and used peasant discontent only as a means to win power. At any rate, they made effective use of it and still are doing so. Their strength, therefore, is not solely a military strength, and they cannot be defeated by military means alone. They do not rely solely on gun powder, and something more than gun power must be used to oppose them."

* * *

Burma

THE *Washington Star* saw in the establishment of Burmese nationhood a "model for the orderly evolution of an empire."

"The Burmese resolved to cut all legal ties and attain complete independence. Far from opposing this decision, the British Government bowed gracefully to the demand and did everything possible to facilitate the change. . . .

"The mutual advantages of this friendly arrangement are attested by the terms of the treaty negotiated between the two nations. Burma obtains British aid in establishing its nationhood through military missions, transfer of minor naval units and a cancelling of debts due Britain to the tune of some US$60,000,000. Britain retains its commercial position and its prestige among the Burmese people—an intangible asset of great potential value from many angles."

The *Indianapolis News* observed: "Burma now is a sovereign nation. Another milestone has been passed, marking the end of the road for that phenomenon of political inequality called the colonial era. Both Great Britain and the Netherlands have seen and heeded the handwriting. Only France, still trying to hew to imperialistic tradition, remains to face the same rising tide of nationalism in Asia and Africa. . . .

"It is expected now that ardent nationalism no longer will hinder Burma from accepting the proffered assistance of British technicians and collaboration with British industrialists."

English in which the position of the preposition following many verb forms is reversed, and the new term is then written together as one word, usually a noun. For example:

a) The pump **can take in** 300 gallons per minute.
b) The **intake** of the pump is 300 gallons per minute.
c) **To keep up** two houses in these days is very expensive.
d) In these days the **upkeep** of two houses is very expensive.
e) They **put out** 10,000 copies of the newspaper daily.
f) The daily **output** of the newspaper is 10,000 copies.

10. **Q.** What is meant by: "They're Coming in the Windows. . . ." as the title over two news items on Chinese railway conditions on p. 74:

"Pukow-Tsinan Railway in Operation Once Again."
"Reds Halting Traffic on Peiping-Mukden Railway."

A. This a line from an American song popular about 20 years ago. It refers to a large number of children being born steadily into a family despite the overwhelmed parents' protests. The song runs somewhat as follows:

"Close the doors, they're coming in the windows,
Close the windows, they're coming in the doors,
Watch the roof, they're coming down the chimney—
Oh my gosh, they're everywhere!"

What Chinese Papers Say

THE constitution, currency reform and defeatism were three highly interesting topics commented on editorially in Chinese newspapers last week.

* * *

Constitution

THE *Ta Kung Pao* stated that the Government must prove by deeds that the Constitution has already come into force.

"On December 25, 1947, China's new Constitution went into effect. Because of the mounting prices and extension of the fighting in different parts of the country, the majority of the Chinese people do not seem to pay any attention to the significance of this event. However, this in itself is an important event in Chinese history.

"To be sure, the reason why the people have reacted with indifference is manifold and such indifference cannot be attributed entirely to the alleged low educational levels of the people. The experience of the past 20 years indicates that such provisions of the Constitution as those regarding the arrest and trial of persons suspected of having committed crimes have not been enforced, nor have they been binding upon the Government. With such a historical background, the indifference on the part of the Chinese people is by no means accidental.

"Now the National Government has begun to enforce the Constitution and the National Assembly is going to be convened soon. Furthermore, President Chiang in his Christmas message announced his readiness to protect the rights of the people. This is a new beginning, and we feel that the time has now come when the Government should prove by some concrete acts that the Constitution has really been put into effect.

"The enforcement of the Constitution does not mean that all the 175 articles of the Constitution of the Chinese Republic were automatically implemented on December 25. However, there are two chapters of the Constitution which can be put into operation at once. They are Chapter 2 governing the rights and duties of the people and Chapter 10 governing the division of power between the Central and local governments. The provisions of the present Constitution guaranteeing the rights of people represent an improvement on those of the Constitutions of the past. If these provisions fail to be carried out, all the other provisions will be empty phrases.

"Article 11 reads: All people shall have freedom of speech, of teaching, of writing and of publication. Article 8 stipulates that when a person is illegally arrested and detained by any organ, he himself or other persons may apply to courts for investigation. The courts shall not refuse such an application and shall within 24 hours investigate the action of the said organ in making such arrest and detention and deal with the matter in accordance with law. The Constitution has now been implemented. Are there any phenomena that are incompatible with the above provisions? If so, it means that the Constitution has been violated.

"The Constitution is a sacred document.... If the Government can take concrete steps to safeguard the rights of the people, divide the governing power between the Central and local governments, and promote basic education, there will be created a new atmosphere as far as the enforcement of the Constitution is concerned.

"Certainly, the Chinese people are not born unfit for democratic constitutional rule, but the trouble is that they have never had a chance to live under a constitutional regime. Twenty years of 'political tutelage' has produced little result. Therefore, even though the Constitution has now begun to be enforced, we naturally cannot expect everything to be as satisfactory as it should be. However, if only the people are allowed to speak their mind, to publish books, magazines and newspapers and to vote in an atmosphere of freedom, constitutional government in China is sure to grow in strength."

* * *

Currency Reform

THE *Financial Daily* emphasized the importance of currency reform. "Our country is now faced with a new crisis, and if we do not, in the near future, secure a large loan from the United States, this crisis will not only affect the morale of the officers and men at the front, but it may lead to the collapse of the national economy as a whole. In his annual message to Congress, President Truman declared that he had included China in a comprehensive plan for world recovery. This is a very encouraging fact. Recently, our Government has announced that Minister of Communications Yu Ta-wei and former governor-general of the Central Bank of China Pei Tsu-yee will head a technical mission to the United States so that when US Congress draws any plan for aid to China they may be able to supply information and material. This is an even more significant move.

"It is still hard to say how the US plan for aid to China will turn out, but our reasoning is that if China is to achieve real stability and recovery, the proposed US$300,000,000 loan to China is certainly only a drop in the bucket. In our opinion, at least a three-year aid program calling for a total of US$5,000,000,000 is required. It would be much better to split the sum this way, US$2,000,000,000 for the first year, and US$1,500,000,000 each for the second and the third year.

"As regards the use of American aid, we feel that first of all it should be used for the purpose of instituting currency reform, so that the currency can be stabilized. The balance of the money should be devoted to bringing about economic recovery. Therefore, in drawing up plans for US aid to China, allowances should be made for a currency reform fund. It would help things greatly if, for the current year, US$1,000,000,000 could be earmarked for a foreign exchange stabilization fund. This would mark the beginning of financial and economic regeneration by our own efforts.

"We most sincerely hope that the mission to the United States under the leadership of Communications Minister Yu Ta-wei will produce good results at an early date."

* * *

Defeatism

THE *Shun Pao* in a sharply-worded editorial deplored the prevalence of defeatism all over the country and stated that it is necessary to strike heavy blows at those people who have fallen victim to it.

"At the end of his fact-finding mission to China, General Albert C. Wedemeyer, United States Presidential Envoy, issued a public statement on the eve of his departure for Washington, in which he criticized the Chinese intellectuals as being permeated with defeatism. This statement, while unpleasant, was a valuable one.

"It is quite true that intellectuals in this country are permeated with defeatism. As a matter of fact this is true not only of intellectuals. There is no denying the fact that many of the leaders in society are defeatist in temperament. Some of the government officials will become corrupt when an opportunity presents itself. Some of the promising industrialists have not positively engaged in production, but have clandestinely engaged in speculation or hoarding in order to make excessive profits.

"Educational and cultural circles have often claimed to be 'neutral' and 'above-party'. Some self-styled spokesmen for the general public dare not point out the forces which are threatening the national life of our country. Nor have they the moral courage to tell the world who should be held responsible for endangering world peace. On the contrary, they only yell empty and misleading slogans such as "We oppose the Civil War," "We oppose feudalism," "We want democracy and progress," etc.

"The present situation is highly delicate and it is incumbent upon us to redouble our efforts if China is to be saved."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

East And West

FAR and NEAR: *Stories of Japan, China and America. By Pearl S. Buck. New York. John Day Company, 1947. 250 pages. U.S. $2.75. Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

THIS volume of short stories by Pearl Buck, including stories written since 1934, shows the war in Japan, a quiet village in China, returned American business people in Shanghai, and American domesticity —or lack of it. In respect of subject matter there is more range than that found in Mrs. Buck's two previous volumes of short stories. *The First Wife and Other Stories*, published in 1933, and *Today and Forever*, published in 1941, which include stories of China only.

Three stories of Japan open the book. The first brings together the conflicting loyalties of patriotism and the professional honor of a doctor. In these opposing loyalties there is a spiritual significance which is very moving. The doctor, a returned student from America, can recall his superiority to Americans, recall how repulsive white people were to him, even when he was kindly treated by them. "It was a relief to be openly at war with them at last." But his professional oath demanded of him that he save the life and freedom of the escaped American prisoner of war. All of this is an understandable conflict. But the technical reinforcement of the theme through the connivance of the doctor's patient, the old General, does not carry equal conviction.

The two other stories set in Japan, of the American private, Ted, and his little Japanese girl, Etsu, show a new and unexpected humor in Mrs. Buck's writing which lights up the entire collection—a sort of combination of the qualities of Private Hargrove and Bill Mauldin.

Mrs. Buck's stories of America are more obvious in their technique but have greater variety of plot than her earlier stories of America. In several she portrays women completely preoccupied with themselves. Women readers will experience relief in finding an equally egocentric, selfish man in the last story. But Mrs. Buck is too constantly occupied with psychological interest in women ill-adjusted to their married life, unappreciated by the men with whom they have connected themselves.

In his introduction to Mrs. Buck's first collection of stories, Richard Walsh wrote, "Her fame as a novelist has drawn attention away from her short stories of distinguished quality." It is true that the stories in this book, like her former short stories, have variety, deftness and polish sufficient to make an interesting volume. But they cannot be said to compete with her first and famous China trilogy.

Poems Of Interest

CONTEMPORARY CHINESE POETRY, *edited with an introduction by Robert Payne. Published by Routledge, London, 1947. 168 pages 10s. 6d. Reviewed by Jij-ts'iu.*

NO one could be better qualified to introduce us to modern Chinese poetry than Robert Payne who is a poet himself, a friend to most of the poets translated in this book, and, above all, a man with a warm heart and eyes which are open to the struggles of the present China.

This volume is of interest not only to men of letters but to all who are interested in China, for the songs and poems it contains are very close to the Chinese life of the last 20 years and of today. The remolding of Chinese society is shown in the remolding of the Chinese soul. Payne's selections cover all types of modern Chinese poets; from the sentimental Hsu Chih-mo, who was considered so modern 20 years ago and is being called old-fashioned now, through Ho Chi-fang who became the "people's poet" during his stay with the guerillas, Tseng K'o-chia who really succeeded in integrating the emotions of the present with the purifying restraints of form of the past, to the revolutionaries, Ai Ching and the "Drummer of the Age," Tien Chien.

Many of the poets represented in this book are, or were, of the Crescent Group, of which Wen I-to was one of the founders before he changed and became a people's poet, thus causing his death. The Crescent Group are a group of poets who tried to find new forms for their delicate and somewhat nostalgic poetic inspiration.

The only poet I should like to have seen included to make the collection truly representative is Kuo Mo-jo. It may be that Kuo's importance lies more in scholarly and political fields, but this also holds true for Wen I-to. To me, Kuo's influence on modern Chinese poetry surpasses that of any of those already mentioned and his omission is unfortunate.

Payne's introduction is, on the whole, excellent, as are his sketches and evaluations of the poets. Acknowledgement is given to several Chinese friends of Payne's who did the translations, but I suspect that Payne himself must have given them a helping hand, for the translations make really good reading in English.

Listen to this by Feng Chih:

To Lu Hsun

In the deep night many years ago
You were awakened by our youthful courage.
God knows, you were disillusioned many times,
But in your mind the awakening never faded.

Therefore I shall always be grateful to you,
And gaze up at you on behalf of our age,
Wherein the fools reign untrammelled,
Yet the real nurse of our age was always

An exile from this world.
Sometimes you saw the light come clear through the clouds,
Then—a turn of the head—the clouds came again.

Now you have come to the end of your remorseless journey.
During these trials only the roadside grass
Called forth from you a hopeful smile.

* * *

And to this by Tien Chian:

The black horse,
The pistol,
The song . . .
Here in China we are walking,
Bearing China's fate
And the misfortunes
Of a whole nation.

We have walked
Thousands of li
Like the prophets
Who once carried
The Cross.

Here in China we are walking. . .

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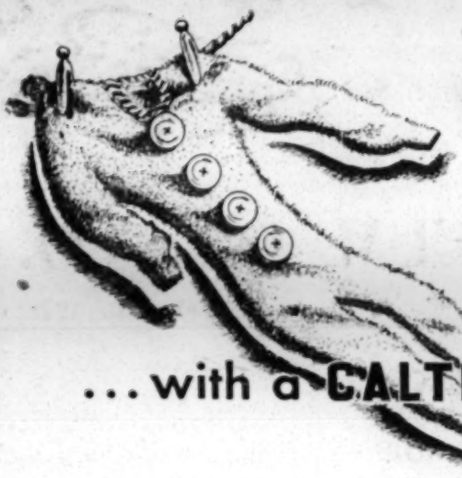

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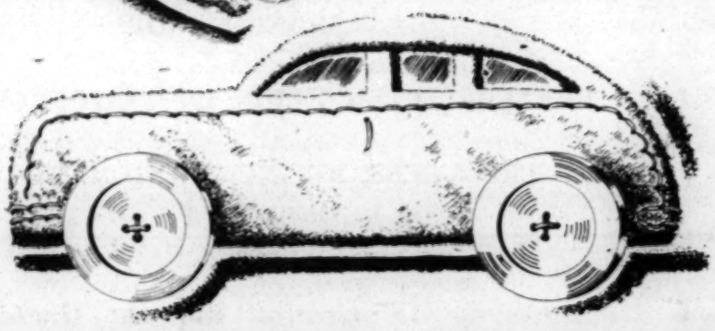

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